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ABSTRACT

Focusing upon the role of the United States government in furthering educational and cultural relations with other nations, the book presents a history of cooperative exchange between the United States and Latin America from 1936-48. The report, based upon primary source material in the form of communications between the Department of State and foreign service posts in Latin America, is presented in six major sections. Section I investigates origins of the Pan American Movement in the early 1800s and reviews private inter-American cultural exchange activities before 1930. Section II outlines the genesis of the program, reviews the good neighbor policy, and evaluates the significance of the 1936 Buenos Aires Conference for the Promotion of Inter-American Cultural Relations. The third section examines program policy in areas such as selecting advisory committees, maintaining contact with universities, and acquiring clearance from Latin American governments for U.S. government activities. Growth and change of the program during World War II are chronicled in Section IV, followed by examination of program activities during the 1940s throughout the United States and Latin America. The final section provides highlights from diaries, letters, and other memoranda of the more than 3,000 individuls from both the United States and Latin America who participated in Department of State cultural exchanges between 1936 and 1948. (Author/DB)

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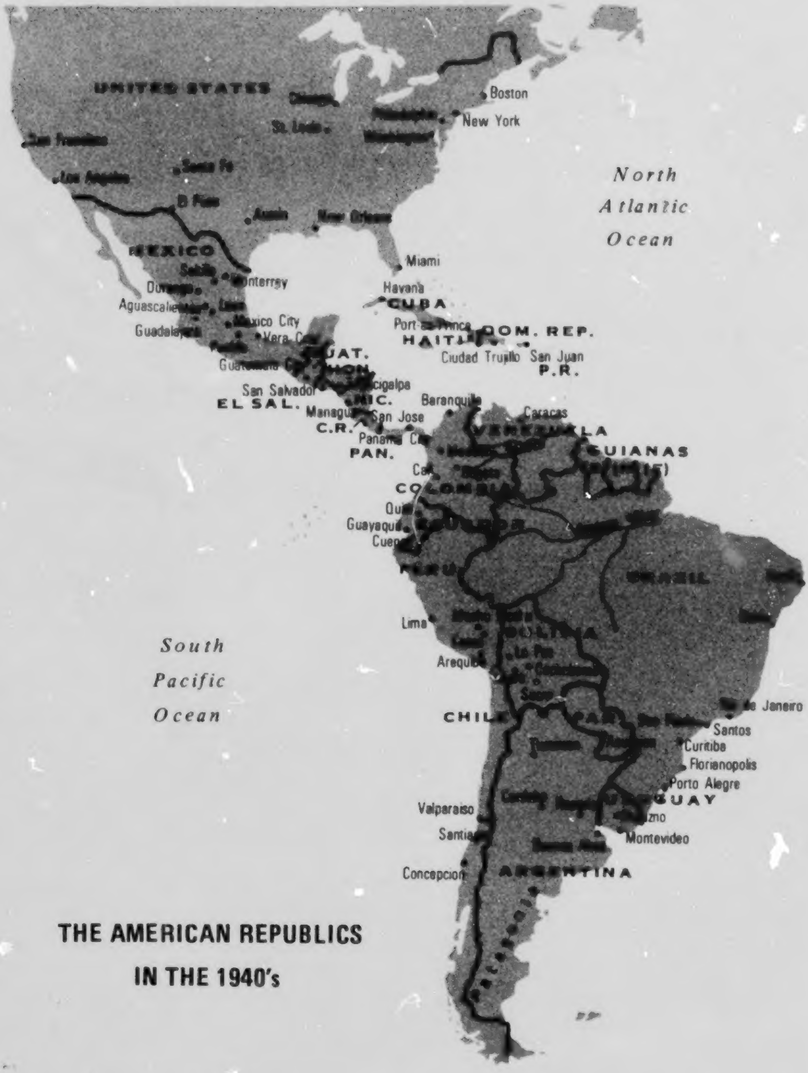
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THE AMERICAN REPUBLICS
IN THE 1940's

Inter-American Beginnings
of
U.S. Cultural Diplomacy • 1936–1948

by

J. Manuel Espinosa

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Foreword

THIS VOLUME is the second in the series of studies on the history of the International Educational and Cultural Exchange Program of the U.S. Department of State being published by the Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs (CU). It is the purpose of these studies to provide a wider knowledge of the history of the Department-sponsored program to foster mutual understanding and cooperation between the people of the United States and other peoples, and at the same time to give further recognition to the larger body of private collaborators in this enterprise—private individuals, institutions, and groups, here and abroad.

The first volume in the series, *America's Cultural Experiment in China, 1942–1949*, by Wilma Fairbank, was published in June 1976. This volume, written by the Director of the CU History Project, J. Manuel Espinosa, recounts the history of the beginnings of the Department-sponsored educational and cultural relations program.

In planning this series, three scholars and educators long associated with the program have provided valuable advice and guidance: Ben M. Cherrington, first chief of the Department's cultural relations program, and for many years director of the Social Science Foundation of the University of Denver; John Hope Franklin, Professor of American History, University of Chicago; and Frank Freidel, Charles Warren Professor of American History, Harvard University.

Though these studies are being published under the sponsorship of the Department of State, they do not in any sense embody official U.S. Government views or policy. The author of each monograph is responsible for the facts and their interpretation as well as for the opinions expressed.

JOHN RICHARDSON, JR.
Assistant Secretary for Educational and Cultural Affairs
U.S. Department of State

Preface

Almost forty years ago, the U.S. Department of State created a new dimension in the conduct of its diplomatic relations with other countries, by adding to the formally established relationships with the official spokesmen of other governments a program designed to cultivate closer contacts between the people of the United States and those of other countries through educational and cultural interchange. Worldwide in concept from the outset, this experiment began between the United States and its Latin American neighbors. Heretofore, the history of the inter-American beginnings of this program was unwritten. To many it is almost a forgotten aspect in the history of U.S. foreign relations.

This volume, after a review of the events that set the stage for the introduction of cultural relations as a component of U.S. diplomacy, recounts the highlights of the first years of the program, the pioneering period from 1936 to 1948. While stressing the role of the U.S. Government in furthering educational and cultural relations with other countries by sharing knowledge and experience face-to-face, through the interchange of persons, the account necessarily touches on other important but less personalized channels of communication, including the information-media programs directed to overseas audiences.

Beginning in 1938, in a different era, and on a more modest scale, both the exchange-of-persons programs and other means of communication were the responsibility of a single Division of Cultural Relations in the Department. A number of books have been written about the role of the U.S. Government in some of the other channels of international communication in that era, such as the press, radio, films, and motion pictures. This book deals with the beginnings of the U.S. Government's effort to foster and strengthen cooperative relations with the Latin American countries through long-term, two-way, person-to-person communication. During World War II, similar exchange-of-persons programs were initiated with countries in other parts of the world, patterned on the Latin American experience, with emergency funds provided to the Department by the President. The dramatic story of the program with China, 1942 to 1949, by Wilma Fairbank, was recently published in this series. The histories of other such programs await separate full-length studies.

The source materials used in the preparation of this volume are widely scattered, as a reading of the notes will indicate. The basic unpublished documents are the records of the Department of State permanently retained in the National Archives in Washington, D.C.; the files periodically retired from the Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs and its predecessor organizations to the Federal Records Center in Suitland, Maryland, where unfortunately many valuable documents have been destroyed; files in the Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs and several other offices in the Department; and the archives of the U.S. Information Agency. The documents in the National Archives include originals or copies of official communications between the Department and Foreign Service posts, and internal Department and interagency correspondence, reports, and memoranda pertaining to the subject matter of this volume.

Traditionally, the permanent retention of Department of State documents in the National Archives has been limited largely to those concerning political, economic, and military diplomacy. Prior to their transfer to the National Archives, the Historical Office of the Department selects from the mass of accumulated Department files the documents that are published in the *Foreign Relations of the United States* series, the Department's official publication of documents on U.S. foreign policy. It has not been the practice to include documents on international educational and cultural policy in these volumes. Consequently, over the years the documents on the educational and cultural program transferred to the National Archives for preservation upon completion of each volume in the *Foreign Relations* series, largely messages and reports to and from the Department and Foreign Service posts, have been thinned out by their custodians before being sent to the Archives and what remains in the files there is fragmentary.

Fortunately, President Roosevelt ordered the Department of State to coordinate, for the internal records of the Government, a collection entitled "War History Branch Studies," which includes summary histories of various wartime Government programs accompanied by copies of contemporary official documents, thus filling some gaps through the year 1945. Other gaps are filled by the miscellaneous collection of documents in the files of the Interdepartmental Committee on Scientific and Cultural Cooperation, which functioned from 1938 through 1948, preserved in the National Archives. These two collections contain copies of documents which provided the basic information for several chapters in this book: the detailed monthly and semimonthly reports of the Department's Division of Cultural Relations and its successor organizations up to 1945; the extensive minutes of the Division's General Advisory Committee meetings and those of other important Division-sponsored meetings; and important Departmental memoranda and reports on program policies and activities during that period. These are supplemented by contemporary documents printed in various U.S. Government publications, mimeographed press releases, and reports prepared by the Department for internal use, which are available in the Department of State Library. Also, relevant early correspondence, memoranda, and reports, not available elsewhere, are preserved in the historical archive of the Institute of International Education in New York and in the Columbus Memorial Library of the Pan American Union in Washington, D.C.

The most valuable published documents used for this study are those issued by the U.S. Government Printing Office, such as: the reports on inter-American conferences, and separately printed statements and speeches by Department officials; the documents, Departmental orders, speeches, reports, and press releases, relating to the Department's exchange program published in the *Department of State Bulletin*, the official weekly record of U.S. foreign policy; the congressional hearings on the annual budget requests of the Department of State, other related congressional reports, and the *Congressional Record*. Other important contemporary publications are those of the Pan American Union and the Institute of International Education. The Library of Congress was an invaluable source for other relevant publications.

Copies of sections of the unpublished memoirs written by Ben M. Cherrington, the first Chief of the Department's Division of Cultural Relations, and Edward G. Trueblood, an early Assistant Chief of the Division and former Foreign Service officer associated closely with the program during the period covered in this study, were made available to me. I also have had the benefit of conversations and correspondence with a number of other persons who were key officials in the conduct of the program or who were closely associated with it during its first decade of activity (see Acknowledgments, below).

My own direct involvement with the program began in Chicago early in 1942 as a volunteer program coordinator for some of the visiting grantees from the Latin American countries, while I was teaching Latin American history at Loyola University. I arranged local appointments and often accompanied the visitors during their stay in the city, among them the first leader grantee under the Department's program. Subsequently, since 1944, I have served as an officer in the educational and cultural exchange office of the Department of State.

It is my hope that this volume will contribute to a better knowledge of a largely neglected chapter in the history of U.S. educational and cultural policy abroad.

J. Manuel Espinosa
CU History Project
Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs
U.S. Department of State

Washington, D.C.,
October 1976.

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I am most deeply indebted to Ben M. Cherrington, first chief of the State Department's cultural relations program and closely associated with the program for many years, who not only read the entire manuscript but provided valued first-hand information, based in part on a remarkable memory. I also wish to thank Richard Pattee, Harry H. Pierson, Arturo Morales-Carrión, Edward G. Trueblood, Oliver J. Caldwell, and Jacob Canter; also the late Donald B. Cook and Francis J. Colligan. All of these persons were officers of the Department at some time during the period 1938–1948, either in the cultural relations office in Washington or representing the cultural programs overseas, and all of them provided additional personal insights and information that could not have been obtained from any other source.

In reviewing and editing the manuscript for publication, I wish to thank, along with Ben Cherrington, Robert Forrey, an expert in American studies, and James A. Donovan, jr., my colleague in the CU History Project, who also read the entire manuscript and offered helpful suggestions; Mario Rodríguez, Professor of Latin American History at the University of Southern California, who read and commented on sections of the manuscript; and a number of colleagues in the Department for contributions made in countless ways.

I am especially grateful to Helen Shaffer who typed the manuscript from almost undecipherable handwriting. I also wish to thank Patricia Dowling of the National Archives and Wilmer P. Sparrow of the Foreign Affairs Document and Reference Center in the Department, who were most helpful.

The technical editing of the volume was the responsibility of the Publishing and Reproduction Division, Willard M. McLaughlin, Chief. This function was performed primarily by Thelma V. Gulli.

I would be remiss if I did not mention that there were others to whom I am deeply grateful for their moral support, especially my wife.

I am, of course, solely responsible for the facts and the views expressed in this volume.

Terms and Abbreviations

The superior figures in the text refer to Notes at the end of each chapter or section. The following is a guide to abbreviations and documentary sources used in the Notes:

Amemb	American Embassy
app. (s)	Appendix, appendixes
ch. (s)	Chapter, chapters
Co	Company
Cong	Congress
CU/H	History Files, Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs (CU), U.S. Department of State. Contain selected documents and publications pertaining to the history of CU. These files include originals and copies of CU documents which were formerly stored in the Foreign Affairs Document and Reference Center (O/FADRC) of the U.S. Department of State, and the Washington National Records Center (NARS), Suitland, Maryland. When such documents are cited in the notes their depository is given as CU/H.
Dept	Department
Desp	Despatch
Doc	Document
ed	Editor
IIE	Institute of International Education
IIE/H	Historical Archive, Institute of International Education, New York
NA	National Archives, National Archives Building, Washington, D.C.
pt	Part
publ	Publication
RG 43	Record Group 43, records of the U.S. delegation to the Buenos Aires Conference, 1936, NA
RG 59	Record Group 59, general records of the U.S. Department of State, NA

RG 353, SCC	Record Group 353, "Interdepartmental Committee on Scientific and Cultural Cooperation, 1938–1948," NA
S	Senate
sec	Section
sess	Session
Supp	Supplement
Univ	University
vol	Volume
WHB	"War History Branch Studies," War History Branch, Division of Research and Publication, U.S. Department of State, NA, RG 59

Introduction

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Introduction

The U.S. Government for the first time committed itself to a policy of official sponsorship of international educational and cultural exchange at the Pan American Conference for the Maintenance of Peace, called by President Franklin D. Roosevelt and held in Buenos Aires, Argentina, in December 1936. Significantly, the U.S. Government not only reversed its tradition of noninvolvement in international educational and cultural matters, but took the initiative in presenting the resolutions establishing an inter-American cultural relations program. This was the first time the U.S. Government, for this cause, had aligned itself wholeheartedly with the Latin American governments, many of which had long since given splendid leadership in promoting cultural relations among the American countries.

At this historic meeting several conventions were agreed to for opening new channels of educational and cultural communication. The principal one was the Convention for the Promotion of Inter-American Cultural Relations, which specifically called for the reciprocal exchange by each signatory government of two graduate students or teachers and one professor annually with each of the other signatory powers. This Convention was passed unanimously at the meeting and was formally ratified by the U.S. Government the following year, and by a number of Latin American governments, eventually 17.

The preamble of the Convention resounded in language that made possible a broad interpretation of future inter-American people-to-people exchange and communication. It stated that the first step needed was to promote "a more consistent educational solidarity on the American continent." It also indicated that its purpose was to promote "greater mutual knowledge and understanding of the people and institutions of the countries represented." It added that such results would be furthered not only by an exchange of professors and students among the American countries, but also by "the encouragement of a closer relationship between unofficial organizations which exert an influence on the formation of public opinion." Thus the stage was set for the introduction of a new dimension in the conduct of the U.S. Government's foreign relations by the Department of State.

This new policy was clearly inspired by the desire of the Roosevelt administration to strengthen the Good Neighbor Policy enunciated by the President in his inaugural address of March 4, 1933. With ominous war clouds spreading from Europe as Hitler's Nazi regime began to push its propaganda beyond the Atlantic to the Latin American countries, President Roosevelt considered as one of this nation's highest priorities swift action to remove longstanding barriers to U.S.-Latin American understanding. He recognized the need to strengthen the solidarity of the hemisphere against the Nazi propaganda onslaught. Due to a variety of circumstances, the way had been prepared and the time had arrived for proclaiming and pursuing a new official policy in the cultural relations between the United States and the Latin American countries.

Up until the last decades of the 18th century, Latin America and Anglo America were two separate and hostile worlds. They were extensions of three centuries of political, religious, and economic rivalry between Spain and England, with England determined to frustrate Spain's acknowledged world power in the 16th and 17th centuries. Commerce between Spain and Spanish America, from the Caribbean and the Gulf of Mexico to the coasts of South America, and on the high seas, was the prey of British pirates. Religious, cultural, and ideological differences provided the rationale for mutual ignorance and dislike. Some of New England's leading clergymen believed that the best hope for peace and harmony in the hemisphere would be the conversion of Catholic Latin America to "the Protestant Religion."

Inter-American relationships underwent significant change beginning with the period of the American wars of independence. In the course of the 19th century, two forces quietly played a significant role in establishing more friendly personal contacts: the beginning of greater involvement in international educational and cultural relations on the part of private U.S. citizens, with modest but important side effects in the hemisphere; and the growth of the Pan American movement.

Since the first official U.S. contacts with the newly independent republics of Latin America, cultural relations were not ignored completely by the U.S. Government. For example, the personal instruction from the Secretary of State to the first U.S. minister to represent his government in Latin America, in 1823, stated that one of his duties was to report to his government any knowledge which might be useful about the arts and sciences of the host country. But this was as far as it went. The U.S. Government traditionally viewed international cultural relations activities as strictly in the private domain, in which the Government should not intervene. The position was well established in the 19th century that the Federal Government must refrain from any "control" over education, and this was extended to external as well as domestic policy.

In any event, with U.S. dominance in the hemisphere in the closing decades of the 19th century, and the Latin American countries looked upon primarily as a market, inter-American relations were still thought about in commercial terms. Moreover, after the Spanish American War of 1898 the United States was engaged in an "educational reorientation" program in Cuba and Puerto Rico, the former occupied and the latter annexed by the United States. In the Philippines, another theater of the war, a similar U.S. "educational reorientation" program was underway. These activities aroused bitter criticism from leaders in a number of the independent nations of Latin America. The military occupations of the Dominican Republic and Haiti and interventions in Central America by the United States, in the second decade of this century, helped to keep alive this resentment and lack of confidence in U.S. motives. The military occupations included programs of educational assistance, along with aid in public health, agriculture, and improvements in land communications, all of which were to have a constructive impact on the development of these areas. Nevertheless, these types of unilaterally inspired "assistance," not mutually planned and developed, and understandably not fully appreciated, did not decrease the barriers that continued to exist, and which in the course of the 20th century the U.S. Government falteringly set out to remove.

It was the Pan American movement which opened the way for initiating a multilateral government-sponsored inter-American cultural relations program. Beginning in the last two decades of the 19th century, it fostered and strengthened a greater spirit of mutual confidence and removed some of the obstacles to understanding. Eventually, a U.S. Government-sponsored cultural relations program was to grow out of this movement, first as part of the multilateral enterprise, and later evolving into a bilateral program between the United States and other individual countries. From the beginning, reciprocity, cooperative international relations, and mutual understanding were the governing principles and goals. Also, when the officially sponsored U.S. program of cultural relations was established, it was based, and continues to be based, on the concept that within the United States it be conducted as a partnership between the Department of State and the private sector, with the Department providing leadership and support as the junior partner in the enterprise.

Thus in a significant way, the approach of the U.S. Government to international cultural relations was quite different from that of the cultural relations programs initiated earlier by the governments of other countries, notably France, Russia, England, Germany, Italy, and Japan. They were all unilateral in their aims. France and Germany had government-sponsored overseas cultural programs in operation at the beginning of the 20th century. Before World War I was over Russia was embarked on an aggressive international ideological program. England established its British Council for cultural relations with other countries in 1934. Its Royal Charter of incorporation in 1940 defined its purpose as "promoting a wider knowledge of the United Kingdom . . . and the English language abroad, and developing closer cultural relations between the United Kingdom and other countries, for the purpose of benefiting the British Commonwealth of Nations." The "cultural" programs of Germany, Italy, and Japan in the 1930's were designed to contribute to world domination. All were established on acknowledged premises different from those of the United States: the preservation and extension of the culture of the mother country in its overseas colonial empire, associated former colonies, and other countries, or the extension of culture as an avowed instrument in strengthening spheres of interest including, until very recently in some cases, the goal of acquiring new territory. Each had its own different concepts, aggressive or defensive in character.[1]

In retrospect, it is a significant fact of history that as we move into the last quarter of this century the officially sponsored international cultural relations programs of the vast majority of the countries of the world emphasize the principle that cultural relations should not be competitive but reciprocal, a promising trend toward a new level of cooperation founded on common interests and goals.[2]

Notes

INTRODUCTION

1. Ruth E. McMurry and Muna Lee, *The Cultural Approach* (Chapel Hill: The Univ. of North Carolina Press, 1947).
2. "Trends in External Cultural Activities of Selected Non-Communist Countries," U.S. Information Agency, Office of Research, R-17-75, Washington, D.C., Dec. 2, 1975.

Background

CHAPTER I

Pan American Movement

The first serious U.S. Government interest in international cultural relations began a decade before the Spanish-American war of 1898 through support of a multilateral cooperative program which came into being in large part through the constructive channels of the developing Pan American system. The cooperative inter-American policy that took shape in subsequent years and came to fruition in the 1930's began with the first Inter-American Conference of 1889–90.

The Pan American movement was initiated and sponsored by the Spanish American nations, beginning with the Panama Congress of 1826, called by Simón Bolívar. In a period characterized by intense international rivalry, the movement began for the purpose of obtaining peace and security for the weak young independent nations of Spanish America against feared inroads on their territorial integrity and political independence by the non-American powers, particularly those of Western Europe. Other inter-American conferences held over the next six decades were designed to secure harmony and cooperation in dealing with such issues. The United States was seldom invited to attend. In fact, in some instances fear of the United States was partially or wholly responsible for the convocation. When the United States was invited the purpose was usually to obtain its support in defensive measures against European countries.

The nations of Western Europe vied with the United States for economic and political influence in the area. Asserting its strength as a world power as the 19th century advanced, the United States assumed the role of arbiter of national and international affairs in Spanish America, especially in relation to Mexico, the Caribbean, and Central America. A significant development during the period from 1845 to 1853, which did not enhance friendly U.S. relations with the countries to the south, was the annexation of Texas and the acquisition from Mexico of the vast territory north of the Rio Grande extending westward to the Pacific. The British were early rivals, but they finally accepted the expanding influence of the United States in the hemisphere. France, however, in pursuit of its economic interests, boldly invaded Mexico and took over the Government for a brief period; and then toward the end of the century the Spanish-American War stimulated Germany to become more aggressive and anti-United States in protecting its trade and investments in the area. Thus, the motives prompting the U.S. Government to take the initiative in the 1880's in promoting a new era of inter-American cooperation were mainly economic—trade and investment opportunities.[1]

During the decade preceding the first Inter-American Conference, Secretary of State James G. Blaine had devoted major attention to promoting the idea of such a conference. As Secretary of State under President Garfield, and later under President Benjamin Harrison, he enlisted the support of businessmen and of Congress for a meeting to discuss jointly the two major topics of mutual concern: the encouragement of trade and the promotion of peaceful settlement of disputes. It was possible for the United States to assume leadership in calling such a meeting at that time because of the degree of confidence that had been restored throughout Latin America by the outcome of the Civil War. The humanitarianism symbolized by President Abraham Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation, and the end of the era of territorial acquisitions in the contiguous borderlands of the Spanish southwest, helped create the opportunity to strengthen credibility in what appeared to be more peaceful and friendly goals on the part of the United States in the hemisphere.

On May 10, 1888, the U.S. Congress authorized the President to invite the nations of Latin America to the Conference. The Latin American governments responded favorably, if gingerly, and delegates convened in Washington, D.C., on October 2, 1889, for the purpose of discussing some plan of arbitration for the settlement of disagreements and disputes, and for considering questions relating to the improvement of business intercourse. To quote from Samuel Guy Inman,

> "The decision of the United States to become one of the directors instead of a mere onlooker or passive supporter of Pan Americanism awakened mixed emotions in Latin America. The Latin republics would have liked to take the gesture at its face value, but felt the natural fear of the weak for the strong." [2]

All of the nations except the Dominican Republic participated. Seventeen official delegates from Latin American countries and 10 from the United States attended the Conference. Six of the Latin Americans spoke English. Secretary Blaine's address at the opening session was tactful and well received. He emphasized that the American nations should be more helpful to each other, should be drawn more closely together by sea and rail, and should cultivate the spirit of friendship and cooperation. After the opening session Secretary Blaine escorted the delegates to the White House where they were received by President Harrison. That evening the Secretary of State tendered them a banquet, and the next day they set off on a carefully planned 6-week official tour of the country as a prelude to the Conference itself, which was more than a conference in the usual sense since it lasted 6 months.

The 6-week observation tour across the country covered approximately 6,000 miles. The purpose was to give the delegates an opportunity to get acquainted with each other, and at the same time get a taste of U.S. hospitality beyond the confines of official Washington; to impress them with the economic resources and commercial advantages of the United States; and to attract the interest of the people throughout the country in the proceedings of the Conference.[3]

The "excursion" as it was called, elaborately planned by the Department of State with the help of the Pennsylvania Railroad, owed much of its success to the cordial reception the delegates received wherever they went. The Latin American delegates and their staffs, the U.S. delegates, Department of State officers, and newspaper correspondents comprised a group of over 100 persons. The special train in which they traveled 5,897 miles consisted of a luxurious lounging car with an abundance of cigars, refreshments, and reading material, a diner which seated 40 persons at one time, and four sleeping cars constituting a veritable luxury hotel on wheels. With interior paneling of the finest woods from all parts of the world, rich tapestry, electrically lighted chandeliers above the aisles, hot and cold running water, and the like, it was described as reminiscent of a scene from *A Thousand and One Nights*. It was drawn by a locomotive considered "the best in the world." The project cost $150,000.

The trip began on October 3 and ended on November 13, in a grand circuit from Washington to New York; Boston, as far northeast as Portland, Maine; then westward along the Great Lakes and through some 40 to 50 major cities and neighboring towns as far west as Omaha, Sioux City, Kansas City, and St. Louis, including the major cities of Minnesota, Michigan, Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, and Pennsylvania; and as far south as Louisville and Lexington. The delegates were presented with a panoramic view of a large part of the United States, including Niagara Falls, Mammoth Cave in Kentucky, historic sites, and in Nebraska they were welcomed at one place by a group of Indians in full ceremonial dress.

The carefully planned advance arrangements were designed especially to enable the Latin American visitors to see the centers of industry, trade, and commerce, while at the same time viewing at firsthand U.S. life and culture in the broadest sense. Everywhere they were met by large throngs at the railroad station, and in some cases reception committees boarded the train on the outskirts and escorted the delegates into the city. They were welcomed by governors, mayors, Congressmen, civic and business leaders, Boards of Trade, Chambers of Commerce, civic organizations, educators, and crowds of local citizens. The published addresses and responses at welcoming ceremonies, luncheons, and banquets comprise an entire volume. In long lines of carriages, they visited industrial plants, factories, steel works, textile mills, meat-packing plants, every aspect of U.S. industry in that great era of industrial growth in the United States.

On the cultural and humanitarian side they visited universities, colleges, schools, and hospitals, and attended concerts and theatrical performances. Among the universities visited were Harvard, Yale, Notre Dame, the University of Michigan, the University of Pennsylvania, as well as the Naval and Military Academies at Annapolis and West Point. In Boston and Philadelphia they were reminded of the historic influence of these cities on Latin American education, trade along the shores of Latin America, and political thought. St. Louis evoked the tradition of Spanish Louisiana and the Spanish Southwest. The visits to Lincoln's tomb in Springfield, Illinois, and to Kentucky, the land of Henry Clay, an early spokesman for inter-American cooperation, were the scenes of emotional speeches by some of the Latin American visitors.

Everywhere the spirit of good will was expressed by U.S. speakers and the visiting delegates. In Milwaukee a local speaker in addressing the delegates at a huge gathering described their visit by saying, "Your presence has electrified the nation. No civil event has for many years so engaged the whole people. The merchant in his store, the farmer at the plow, the brawny artisan and even the school-boy who dreams over the maps of the three Americas—all catch the inspiration of the new evangel, 'Pan-America.'" And ex-Governor R. J. Oglesby of Illinois, in addressing the group along with a large throng of people who had taken advantage of the opportunity to make a special visit to Lincoln's tomb, urged more travel to Latin America to get to know its people better. He said,

> "I wish it were in my power to induce about twenty-five thousand of our American tourists to change their mode and line of travel. Out of the one hundred thousand that go annually

> across the Atlantic to the hospitable and cultural nations of Europe that invite us and entertain us so cordially there, I would to God that at least twenty-five thousand of the citizens of these United States would change their line of visitation and pass through Mexico, Central America, and over the rock passes of the Andes throughout the entire domain of the southern republics, states, and nations, until we should all come to know each other."

At the University of Michigan, President James B. Angell expressed the hope that the visit would be conducive to strengthening both commercial relations and intellectual ties between the United States and Latin American countries. He said:

> "Whatever obstacles there may be to the exchange of material products of your countries and our country, there is no obstacle to the exchange of thought . . . As joint possessors of the rich intellectual treasures of each other, and of our great literary inheritance from the Old World, are we not members of one great intellectual household? We clasp hands as brothers, and we trust that your visit will do much to strengthen the bonds of our intellectual brotherhood."

Provost William P. Pepper, welcoming the group at the University of Pennsylvania, referred to the many students from Latin American countries who had studied in Philadelphia and attended the university over the years, including some of the delegates who were present. He said:

> "At all times during the past one hundred years there have been students with us from some of the countries you represent . . . The students you have sent have always been, I can truly say, among the most successful and highly valued members of their classes. And it may surprise you to learn that within the past twenty years there have graduated in medicine alone from the University and the Jefferson [Medical] College no less than three hundred and nine from South America, Cuba, and the West Indies . . . We are happy to now know that even among your distinguished company there are several who have been students here in Philadelphia . . . We watch with friendly interest the rapid strides you are making in educational progress in your own countries. Yet it will always seem desirable in many instances that education shall be conducted, or at least completed, away from home . . . Whether students come in their earliest stage as raw material or present themselves as finished products with their education almost completed, they are alike welcome, and alike they receive the most willing attention and consideration."

Among the reactions from Latin American delegates in the course of the tour, one said, "If commercial intercommunications contribute to the development of the material interests of countries, the interchange of ideas is an indestructible moral bond of fraternity." Another, "It is a fact that we Americans have begun to commingle with more frequency and more intimacy; to mutually know each other better; to form a more correct and complete idea of our interests and necessities, and this will make it easy to eradicate the prejudices and errors which may have been the cause of unfounded jealousies." Another said, "At the doors of American homes stands the moral figure of Hospitality. Those doors are open to all who come here with good-will. We have been invited over those thresholds."

Five decades later when the U.S. Department of State initiated a planned program of educational and cultural exchange, with annual congressional appropriations used to invite distinguished leaders from Latin America on a regular basis with a view to promoting mutual understanding, perhaps no one recalled this interesting prototype. If anyone did, among other things, he would have noted that a visitor can see and learn much in a 6-week visit, but can enjoy the tiring day-to-day pace only in direct relationship to the quality of the experience. At the same time, it would be too much to expect that such an elaborately planned "excursion" for a group of foreign leaders could ever be repeated. It was a unique early example of international cultural diplomacy.

As it turned out, the educational and cultural aspect of the first Inter-American Conference was one of its most lasting outcomes. The visitors became acquainted firsthand with the United States through the 6-week visit to key cities along the railroad routes of the East and Midwest, followed by 6 months of intimate contact with their U.S. colleagues during the course of the Conference. More specifically, on April 14, 1890, the Conference adopted a resolution to establish the International Bureau of American Republics. This organization was later to be known as the Pan American Union, and subsequently the Organization of American States. It was agreed that the participating governments should all contribute to the expenses of the Bureau to enable it to collect and publish in English, Spanish, and Portuguese information primarily on matters relating to commerce, but also to include "other useful information as may be contributed to it by any of the American Republics." The U.S. Government advanced $36,000 for the expenses of the Bureau during its first year, with sums not to exceed that amount to be provided by the other governments in subsequent years. Thus a permanent organization was established which, as the years passed, was to assume among its other duties an increasing role in promoting cultural, intellectual, and educational exchange activities to strengthen cultural understanding and cooperation among the independent nations of the hemisphere.[4]

The second Inter-American Conference, in Mexico City from October 22, 1901 to January 31, 1902, was held in the less auspicious post-Spanish-American War atmosphere. The United States had clearly emerged as a world power, and the Latin reaction was one of bewilderment and inferiority which Latin American intellectuals incubated into a decade of intense Yankeephobia, producing a number of anti-U.S. literary classics. The conferees, for this and other reasons, were not in the mood to pass resolutions advancing closer cultural relations.[5]

At the time of the third Inter-American Conference, held in Rio de Janeiro from July 25 to August 27, 1906, although "Yankee imperialism" was still a popular theme for Latin American intellectuals, the atmosphere was less violent. Fortunately, Secretary of State Elihu Root saw the approach to inter-American affairs quite differently from his predecessor, John Hay, who had written concerning a diplomatic reception attended by Latin American ministers and middle-level European officials that "they were mostly dagoes and chargés." The Conference at Rio was significant partly because it was made the occasion of visits by Secretary Root to various South American countries during which he made speeches in Brazil, Uruguay, Argentina, Chile, Peru, Colombia, and Panama. These visits, more than any other visit by a citizen of the United States to Latin America in that period, helped to stimulate friendly inter-American relations. A quote from his speech at the Pan American Conference characterizes the spirit of his message:

> "We wish . . . for no territory, except our own . . . We wish . . . to expand our trade, to grow in wealth, in wisdom, in spirit, but our conception of the true way to accomplish this is not to pull others down and profit by their ruin, but to help all friends to a common prosperity and a common growth, that we may all become greater and stronger together."

On the cultural front a quiet step forward was made at this Conference with the recommendation that the Bureau of American Republics study educational matters, especially the exchange of students.[6]

The years between the Rio Conference and the fourth Inter-American Conference in Buenos Aires in 1910, a reflection of the "peace in our time" atmosphere of those years, saw a visible increase in official U.S. support for inter-American cultural relations activities on various fronts. A notable example was the First Pan American Scientific Congress which assembled in Santiago, Chile, on

December 25, 1908. The Argentine Scientific Society had initiated the movement when it invited scientists from various Latin American countries to meet in Buenos Aires in 1898 to discuss economic and scientific questions of common interest. They decided to continue the meetings, and at their third meeting in Rio de Janeiro in 1905 it was decided to expand the meetings into Pan American Scientific Congresses, including the United States. The chairman of the committee for the First Pan American Scientific Congress, the rector of the National University of Chile, extended an invitation to the U.S. Government and to various universities and scientific societies in the United States to send delegates to the Congress. The U.S. Congress made an appropriation of $35,000 to pay the expenses of a delegation. Secretary Root appointed 10 delegates, headed by Dr. Leo S. Rowe, Professor of Government at the University of Pennsylvania. In addition, several U.S. universities sent representatives. Several hundred persons attended the Congress. The scholars met daily in various sections which considered such subjects as mathematics, physical sciences, social sciences, juridical sciences, pedagogy and philosophy, and a number of papers were prepared by U.S. delegates which were later included in the published proceedings. The Congress exemplified a growing pattern of scholarly interchange and communication strengthened by increasing contacts and continuing relationships between individual scholars, educational institutions, professional organizations, and intergovernmental agencies such as the Smithsonian Institution and the Library of Congress in the United States and counterpart official agencies and organizations in Latin American countries.[7]

A notable aspect of the fourth Inter-American Conference held in Buenos Aires in 1910 was the number of delegates that represented the educational and intellectual leadership of the various countries—poets, educators, scholars. The U.S. delegation included professors John Bassett Moore of Columbia University, Paul S. Reinsch of the University of Wisconsin, Bernard Moses of the University of California, and William R. Shepherd of Columbia University. The latter two were the most distinguished Latin American historians in the United States at that time.[8]

One of the actions at Buenos Aires was the reorganization of the Bureau of American Republics under the name of Pan American Union. Matters of inter-American education and intellectual relations were specifically identified as concerns of the newly titled organization. To insure future attention to these particular activities it was recommended that a Pan American Commission be created in each of the republics, including among its functions the furnishing of data requested by the Pan American Union, and proposed projects appropriate to the purpose of the Union. The constructive inter-American scientific, educational, and cultural relationships being cultivated by Pan American Scientific Congresses were commended.[9]

For the purpose of promoting in each of the American nations a more perfect understanding of the intellectual life of the others, a resolution was framed and adopted by the Conference recommending that universities in the hemisphere recognized by their respective governments establish an interchange of professors and students with the costs provided by the participating universities and governments. In accordance with the resolution, every year the universities desiring the interchange of professors would notify each other, and "the remuneration of the professor shall be paid by the university which has appointed him, unless his services shall have been expressly requested, in which case his remuneration shall be charged to the university which has engaged his services." The resolution also stated, "The universities shall determine annually the amount to be taken from their own funds, should they have any, or to be asked from their respective Governments, for the costs incurred in fulfillment of the terms of this Resolution." The interchange of students would rest on the creation in each university of scholarships for this purpose "with or without reciprocity." [10] But the U.S. Government was not ready to consider funding such exchanges, as the resolution proposed, and took no direct official action. Following traditional policy within the pattern of the educational system in the United States, it relied on the Pan American Union and the private sector to take the initiative. This resolution was the direct precursor of the Buenos Aires Convention of 1936.

The reputation the U.S. Government had acquired during the years preceding World War I for following a policy of imposing its political will on its neighbors, but having no real interest in neighborly exchange in the cultural and intellectual spheres, persisted in Latin American official and private circles. However, the Pan American system, through the periodically convened Inter-American Conferences and related inter-American Congresses, and the growing private U.S. initiatives inspired by this permanent intergovernmental machinery, quietly continued to build a network of cultural contacts. It provided solid groundwork for the notable upsurge of interest in Latin America generally during the First World War, when Latin Americans felt that the United States was now fighting for the ideals of democracy. At the same time lines of communication within the hemisphere were drawn more closely together by the interruption of transportation from the Latin American countries to Europe. The Wilson administration recognized the new opportunity.

Consequently, in the President's message to Congress on December 7, 1915, he declared that the neutral policy which had been adopted by the American countries toward the warring powers in Europe had made them "conscious of a new and more vital community of interest and moral partnership in affairs, more clearly conscious of the many common sympathies and interests and duties which bid them stand together." [11]

The Second Pan American Scientific Congress which assembled at Washington on December 27, 1915, was the largest meeting of U.S. and Latin American intellectuals ever held up to that time. Official delegates were sent from all the Latin American republics and the United States. Several hundred persons at the Congress represented commercial, educational, and scientific organizations in the United States. A large number of unofficial delegates from educational and scientific societies in the Latin American countries also attended, some of them aided in their travel by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. The Congress declared that its aim was "to increase the knowledge of things American, to disseminate and make the culture of each American country the heritage of all American Republics." The dozen large volumes of the papers presented at the many sessions of the Congress are a lasting monument to the meetings of American minds from all parts of the continent.[12]

At the Congress, John Bassett Moore, of Columbia University, reviewed the proposal for professor and student exchanges agreed to at the fourth Inter-American Conference in 1910, and proposed as the first step the establishment of chairs devoted to the history, institutions, and ideas of the different countries. Dr. Leo S. Rowe, of the University of Pennsylvania, also urging more attention to the exchange of professors, students, and teachers, noted:

> ". . . the people of the United States, in spite of their cosmopolitan makeup, give evidence of a surprisingly limited capacity to understand a point of view different from their own. This shortcoming of the public mind is a real national menace . . . Our great difficulty has been that the national mind has not advanced at the same pace as our national influence . . ."

One of the resolutions adopted by the Congress stated "that the teaching of the Spanish language be made general in the schools of the United States, and of the English language in Latin American schools, and that both be taught from the point of view of American customs, history, literature and social institutions." [13]

A paper presented by G. B. Winton, of Vanderbilt University, urged U.S. Government funding to support professor exchanges. He said: "It seems to this writer that the advantages to accrue from promoting so worthy a cause are sufficiently manifest and sufficiently inevitable to forestall any justified criticism of such appropriations." His remark apparently went unnoticed.[14]

A spokesman for the Government of Panama made an eloquent plea for the establishment of a Pan American University in Panama with hemisphere-wide financial support and first-rate professional schools that would attract faculty and students from the entire hemisphere. He described Panama as ideally suited because of its location at the crossroads between North and South America, adding that since Panama did not then have a university, as the two old colonial universities were no longer in existence, the new Pan American University could be built as a modern institution free from the archaic traditions of the past. He recommended that a Pan American University Commission be established to meet in Panama to develop such a plan. The proposal did not materialize at that time. A similar proposal had been made by the U.S. Commissioner in Puerto Rico in 1912, suggesting Puerto Rico as having all the characteristics and prospects described above. When he was invited by the Governor of Panama to become rector of the National Institute, which was the predecessor of the present University of Panama, he changed his mind and recommended Panama as the ideal location for a Pan American University. In 1913, Secretary of State William Jennings Bryan had advanced the idea of such a university in Panama with the same goals in mind. These appear to be the origins of the idea of a Pan American University, or North-South Center, a concept later revived, temporarily put into operation in Panama in 1943, under Pan American Union auspices, and then shelved many times since then.[15]

World War I resulted in multiplying points of economic contact between the Latin American countries and the United States, and also saw an increase in educational and cultural contacts. Propaganda, always the handmaiden of war, had briefly entered onto the scene. As the Kaiser's goverment ground out anti-U.S. propaganda in the neutral countries of Latin America, the U.S. Government set up its own Committee on Public Information, or "propaganda ministry," which operated from 1917 to 1919 under the chairmanship of George Creel, with the Secretaries of State, War, and Navy as the other members. Its activities included the promotion of visits by distinguished Latin Americans to the United States. In Mexico, our closest Latin American neighbor, German propaganda efforts were at their best, so it was here that the U.S. Committee on Public Information launched a very special effort. In addition to the extensive media efforts, which were extended to every city and important town

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in the country, the two experiments which were considered to be most successful were the establishment of a reading room and English language school in Mexico City with branches in six other cities.

In Mexico City, quarters for a reading room were obtained in a large storeroom on one of the most frequented thoroughfares in the business heart of the capital. From the beginning the Reading Room was patronized to capacity day and evening. The visitors came from all ranks of citizens: artisans, laborers, shopkeepers, professional men, and women flocking there for enlightenment as to the issues and progress of the war and to exchange views on the situation. During the 7½ months in which the reading room was open the number of visitors, by actual count, totaled 106,868.

Encouraged by the reception given the reading room, it was determined to take advantage of the widespread demand to open a school for instruction in English. An adjoining shop was rented and furnished with desks, benches, and blackboards. From the initial session, the capacity of the school was taxed. The students ranged from boys and girls of 16 to elderly men and women. The working classes predominated. When the school closed 1,127 individual pupils were registered. The total schoolday attendance was nearly 30,000. Sixteen English classes were in operation with an average of 65 pupils.[16]

After the war was over, the great enthusiasm of the war years for closer inter-American bonds suddenly disappeared as far as official U.S. Government action was concerned, and the inter-American spirit turned to the placid normalcy of the Harding and Coolidge administrations. Cultural relations were again left to the private sector. This situation was to change only to a degree under the administration of President Herbert Hoover. The dominant interest in official discourse with Latin America was commercial and political.

Official interest in the Pan American movement did not come to a complete halt, however, and even though President Wilson's brand of idealism evolved into what has been described as moral meddling, resulting in a series of interventions in the internal affairs of Mexico and several Caribbean countries, a new Latin American policy was evolving which prepared the way for President Franklin D. Roosevelt's Good Neighbor Policy.

On March 5, 1921, Hoover, world famous for his humanitarian role as organizer and administrator of relief work during and after World War I, became Secretary of Commerce, and later that year was appointed chairman of the Inter-American High Commission, which was concerned with inter-American financial and commercial cooperation. As his later career was to indicate he had a sincere and realistic interest in good cultural as well as commercial relations with Latin America. He noted that

> "Improvement in our relations with the other countries of the continent requires a far wider knowledge of their economic condition, their institutions, and their culture than we now possess, and the gateway to any such knowledge is the correct use of the languages . . . The Spanish language occupies in this continent a place second only to that of English . . ."

This was to be a widely used quote by Spanish language teachers. His contacts with Latin America during 8 years as a Cabinet officer gave him an appreciation of the possibilities of cultural exchange with our southern neighbors which was to be one of the bright spots during his presidency. Thus some of the intricacies of inter-American relations were familiar to Hoover 7 years before he became President, an advantage that could not be claimed by any of his predecessors.

On the cultural front, quietly and insignificantly at the time, in the shadow of continued political intervention in the Caribbean and Central American countries, the fifth Inter-American Conference at Santiago in 1923 kept alive the educational and cultural exchange efforts of the previous conferences. The Committee on Education recommended a Pan American educational conference to be held in Santiago in 1925 to consider plans for the exchange of students and professors, standardization of course credits, and the reciprocal honoring of university degrees.[17] As private inter-American contacts increased, visits by professional groups from Latin America provided the occasion for special words of welcome by U.S. Government officials. In his address before the first Pan American Congress of Journalists held in Washington in 1926, for example, President Coolidge said,

> "Up to very recent times, there has been an unfortunate lack of information on the part of the general public of the United States of the aims, achievements, and progress of those regions. Such conditions can be remedied only by the dissemination of knowledge. Various Pan American organizations have done a most valuable work in this direction. Your visit to our country will give our citizens an opportunity to recall that the early inhabitants of colonial South America established centers of culture earlier than similar agencies were established in English colonial possessions in North America." [18]

That same year, Secretary of State Kellogg in an address at the University of Pennsylvania stated,

> "I think much could be accomplished by the exchange of students with South American institutions of learning. Not only

> may our students be profitably sent there to study their language, which is of surprising importance, but to study their governments, their social and economic conditions. I am aware that there has been a great increase in knowledge of and in acquaintance with the people of those countries, but there is still a wide field for improvement. Travel, acquaintance, and commercial intercourse broaden the vision and tend to allay suspicion and jealousy."[19]

The most thoughtful of these statements by top officials was Secretary of Commerce Hoover's address at the dinner of the Motion Picture Producers and Distributors of America in New York in the spring of 1927, which was attended by ambassadors, ministers, and other representatives of Latin American republics. After referring to the common experiences of the hemisphere—revolution, the break from centuries of tradition, civil and Indian wars, conquering the wilderness, and building self-government, he said:

> "Our races in the Western Hemisphere, with their widely differing origins, necessarily also differ widely in traditions, in laws, in customs, and in the practices of commerce. Some misunderstandings, some lack of appreciation of the high qualities and sincere purposes in each of us, are inevitable even despite our best intentions. But because of common purposes among us . . . these minor frictions should become but the experiences which bring a better understanding of our mutual problems. It is increasing acquaintance between our peoples with its illuminations of our mutual aspirations, our mutual desire for justice as the basis of our relations, that is the sole need for maintenance of cooperation between these republics . . ."

Hoover then lamented the separation of the United States from Latin America by the barrier of language. He said that despite the invaluable services of the press, news dispatches were inadequate, stating that unfortunately "the obscure processes of progress, national ideals, good will, respect, kindliness, are not news."

He expressed high hopes for the future role of the motion picture if properly used. He felt that the motion picture brought to the arena of national interchange a new setting with distribution almost instantaneous, speaking a universal language, and reaching the great mass of people of every nation. He cautioned, however, that by drawing aside the veil between the daily lives of people it could arouse respect or it could bring contempt.

Turning to trade relations he went on to say:

> "Trade in its true values is not commercial war—it is a vital mutual service. Great masses of people, both in our country and Latin America, would be irretrievably impoverished if our foreign trade were suspended for more than a few months . . . And this is simply because nations are dependent upon the import of

> materials which they cannot themselves produce upon their own soil. Each of our nations has built up great populations whose daily life depends upon . . . the import of certain essential commodities which enter into their construction and operation . . ."

His final remarks emphasized that "There is another form of trade where our mutuality of interest rises to its highest aspects—the exchange of scientific discovery and men trained in its application." He stated:

> "Our two great continents are still in the making of their material civilization . . . The experience in applied science and administration which each of us gains from these undertakings and from scientific research is the joint fund of all of us. Science knows no frontiers and it knows all languages . . . At the present time something like two thousand young men and women of our different western countries are in attendance at universities in their neighbor countries. Brazilian students are in Argentine universities; Argentine students in the United States. Back and forth they are carrying skill in application of science and the contribution of each nation to the higher learning. It would indeed be a noble thing if these interchanges of students could be multiplied—for from them come added technical skill, leaders and teachers of wider and wider vision . . ."

At the close of his address Hoover praised the "inspiring" contributions of the peoples of both Americas which he described as "those things which mirror the soul of great nations." [20]

The special intervention policy of the U.S. Government in the Caribbean area and in Central America continued to be the major thorn in the side of inter-American relations, and when the sixth Inter-American Conference met in Havana, Cuba, in the first months of 1928, the tide of Pan Americanism was at its lowest ebb. The visit of President Coolidge to the Conference was an effort on the part of the U.S. Government to allay the fears of some Latin American leaders that the United States, unrestrainable because of its obvious preeminence in world politics, was seeking to dominate Latin America. Secretary of State Hughes, reporting on the Conference, stated:

> "The 'Colossus of the North' is pictured to the imagination as a ruthless giant, without conscience and with unrestrained lust . . . We should endeavor, so far as possible, to eradicate . . . the notion . . . that we are dominated by a desire to dominate Latin America . . . and especially should we be solicitous to conduct all our relations with Latin American states in such a manner as not to facilitate its spread . . . Much is made of the differences between the Latin American and the Anglo-Saxon temperaments. The differences undoubtedly exist, but aside from the use of a different language, there was little to

> distinguish the assembly from those gatherings to which we are accustomed . . . The atmosphere of the Conference was friendly. The constant association of the delegates brought them into fairly close intimacy, and they learned to know each other well. This tended to promote esteem and to remove distrust . . . We judge nations by the men we meet rather than the books we read."

While the news reports on the Conference at Havana stressed the controversial questions that were at issue such as the legal aspects of intervention, effective work in furthering better inter-American cultural relations was quietly being accomplished in the committee meetings. The Committee on Intellectual Relations of the Conference proposed resolutions which were adopted by the Conference in plenary session recommending more positive joint action in promoting faculty and student exchange, the exchange of educational and cultural materials, and conferences to further these goals. The two U.S. delegates on this Committee were Dr. Ray Lyman Wilbur, President of Stanford University, later the Secretary of Interior under the Hoover administration, and Dr. Leo S. Rowe, then the Director General of the Pan American Union. The resolution on professor and student exchanges read:

> ". . . the Pan American Union will proceed to inquire of the governments what number of scholarships they may grant to foreign students and what professors they may send to other countries, in order to effect the pertinent notification to the end that both may be availed of without loss of time; to encourage and promote by all means within its power the creation of special chairs, supported or subsidized by the governments, for the study of the Spanish, English, Portuguese, and French languages and their respective histories and literatures as well as the creation of special chairs in the universities of the countries, members of the Pan American Union, for the purpose of studying commercial legislation and the history of commercial and diplomatic relations between the American Republics." [21]

Several of the delegates said that in the long run the most important actions of the Conference were those concerning intellectual cooperation.[22]

Perhaps the outstanding event in 1928 in establishing closer personal ties with Latin Americans was President-elect Hoover's good will tour of Latin America a few weeks after his election.[23] As Alexander DeConde has written: "When Hoover announced his intention of embarking on this preinauguration trip, speculation ran rampant in the press of the Western Hemisphere as to his reasons for taking such a journey. The Latin Americans were generally pleased and somewhat flattered by the attention suddenly focused on them. In deciding to make such a long voyage Hoover was apparently motivated by a desire to implement the ideal of the 'good neighbor' by getting to know his southern neighbors and by trying to dissipate their fears concerning the intentions and policies of the United States. 'Our trip to Latin America,' he said simply, 'was conceived for the purpose of paying friendly calls upon our neighbors to the South.' "

The 10-week tour began in Honduras in late November, 1928, then included El Salvador, Nicaragua, Costa Rica, Ecuador, Peru, Chile, Argentina, and Uruguay, in that order, and ended with a visit to Brazil in late December. As to be expected, one critic described the trip as a "trade junket in the interests of big business," others were not convinced that political intervention was really being abandoned by the U.S. Government, and there were a few incidents and near incidents. By and large, however, the tour was a great success with the most cordial receptions in Peru and Brazil.

Hoover's recurring theme, repeated in each of his speeches, was "the friendly visit of one good neighbor to another." In his first speech, which took place in Honduras, he stated "We have a desire to maintain not only the cordial relations of governments with each other but the relations of good neighbors. Through greater understanding that comes with more contact we may build up that common respect and service which is the only enduring basis of international friendship." In elaborating on this theme he emphasized the need for a continuing exchange of ideas and information between North and South America. In this same speech he said, "We in the United States have gained much more from the experiences of our Latin American neighbors. And we in turn take pride in our contributions to the common goal of human advancement."

In El Salvador he repeated, "The relations between neighbors require that nothing should be omitted to upbuild those contacts and that sentiment which create understanding." He added, "Each and everyone of us has made some of these great contributions to human advancement. The larger exchange and the larger understanding of these contributions becomes the enduring basis of mutual respect."

Expressing this idea in more philosophical terms in his speech in Costa Rica, he stated: "Good will between nations is not a policy—it is a deduction arising from a series of actions. It is not a diplomatic formula; it is an inspiration which flows from the ideals of a people." Then he went on to say: "There are over twenty nations on our Western Continent, in which each can be a laboratory working out separate successes in government, in culture and in art under varying conditions, successes from which all the others can profit."

At Rio de Janeiro he stated that a "form of exchange where our mutual interests rise to their highest aspects is the exchange of scientific ideas, of experience in government, of intellectual thought and of culture." He then added,

> "The results of scientific research, the development of literature, art, music and the drama, the inspiration of lofty thoughts, of morals and ideals, are the forces which make for increasing satisfaction, and nobility amongst men. I should like to see a more definitely organized effort not only between the cultural institutions—especially of students, teachers and professional men of my country and your country—but also between all our Western nations. We all have something vital to contribute to each other and it is especially from these exchanges and contacts that we gain the respect and esteem which so greatly strengthen the foundations of international friendship. I feel that our intellectual exchanges must be expanded beyond the daily news, the moving pictures and other incidentals."

Past fears and suspicions of U. S. motives could not be dispelled by one good will trip. But it is fair to say that it was the successful launching of a new U.S. policy toward Latin America based on mutual respect and understanding. The good will tour made it clear to all that the new President considered better inter-American cultural relations an important part of U.S. foreign policy. Also, this trip attracted the attention of his own people to important and growing nations, close family neighbors, as Hoover put it, of which the vast majority were still placidly ignorant.

When the Inter-American Congress of Rectors, Deans, and Educators in General met in Havana, February 20–23, 1930, to act on the resolutions passed at the Sixth Pan American Conference held in 1928, the atmosphere could not have been more friendly. The delegates from the 21 American republics included some of the most distinguished educators of the hemisphere. The U.S. delegates were Dr. John C. Merriam, President of the Carnegie Institution for the Advancement of Science; Dr. Stephen P. Duggan, Director of the Institute of International Education; Dr. Frank Aydelotte, President of Swarthmore College; Dr. Ellen F. Pendleton, President of Wellesley College; and Dr. James Brown Scott, the distinguished authority in international law.

Virtually every worthwhile type of educational and cultural exchange, tried and untried, was proposed, carefully reviewed, and approved or rejected. Each delegate brought before the group not only ideas but examples of successful programs in this field which had been initiated by private universities and organizations in the United States and by some of the Latin American governments, especially during the previous decade.

Indeed, by 1930 much progress had already been made in the field of inter-American intellectual and cultural cooperation. More than 20 treaties, conventions, or agreements had been reached by the American nations in this field of activity, and scores of inter-American conferences and institutes, missions, and organizations were furthering cooperative relations in the sciences, medicine, international and municipal law, public health, the social sciences, agriculture, archeology, architecture, social welfare, labor interests of women, education, students, journalism, bibliography, book translation, communications, and the fine arts.

One of the major purposes of the Congress was to "prepare the definitive statutes" for the Inter-American Institute of Intellectual Cooperation, which had been created at the Sixth Pan American Conference, and this was promptly accomplished. On February 23, 1930, the Congress agreed to a Convention, to be submitted to the respective governments, entitled "Inter-American Institute of Intellectual Cooperation," setting up an Inter-American Cultural Council under the aegis of the Pan American Union to direct the Institute, composed of delegates from each country concerned, and National Councils in each country to collaborate with the central Cultural Council in matters relating to intellectual life in the Americas. Also, a number of projects to insure the dissemination of educational and cultural information among the countries of the hemisphere through a variety of publications, and cooperative enterprises in the various disciplines, were designated for the early attention of the Institute. These proposals added to what was coming to be the established pattern of responsibilities of the Pan American Union in promoting multilateral technical, scientific, educational, and cultural cooperation throughout the Americas.

Professor and student exchanges were the major topic on the agenda. A number of specific types of exchange activity were presented which required financial commitments by the participating educational institutions in the respective countries. Since many of the Latin American universities and research centers were funded by their national governments a degree of financial commitment by Latin American governments was implicit in the proposals. The United States on the other hand, in full accord with most of the recommendations of this Congress, was, of course, assuming that such costs at the U.S. end would be borne by the universities and other private educational institutions themselves. All of the delegates were aware of this U.S. policy, and the U.S. delegates were operating on this basis. The significance of the discussions for future U.S. Government policy was that they resulted in the formulation of basic criteria for professor and student exchange activities elaborating on the 1910 resolutions, which drew the U.S. Government a step closer to a change in its traditional policy 6 years later.[24]

In the last 2 years of the Hoover administration, the President devoted his main efforts to surmounting domestic troubles, and in foreign affairs the troublesome issues of inter-American politics were overshadowed by the larger problems of Europe and the Far East. However, Hoover was more concerned with improving inter-American cultural relations than was any preceding President. DeConde is essentially correct in saying "during his four years in the White House. he probably traveled farther along the road of Pan American solidarity than any previous President . . . In the main essentials, the good neighbor policy had its roots in the Hoover Administration." [25] He exaggerates, however, when he writes, "The entrance of Roosevelt into the White House did not result in any marked change in the Latin American policy which the country had been following in the previous four years . . ." [26] Abandonment of the double standard on intervention, and changes in tariff policy, for example, were marked differences indeed. The point to Hoover's credit was that he helped pave the way for a number of constructive changes in our Latin American policy, including the area of better cultural relations. In fact, a summary of Hoover's public addresses on the importance of cultural cooperation between the American nations, from the fine arts to the sciences, would fill a substantial volume.

On May 28, 1930, President Hoover signed the draft proclamation designating April 14 as Pan American Day, and on April 14, 1931, the first such day was observed by the United States and all other members of the Pan American Union. In his address before the Governing Board of the Pan American Union in Washington on April 14, 1931, he stated:

> "Exercises are being held at this time in public schools and universities and by civic organizations in every section of the Union . . . It is of the greatest importance that the people of the United States become better acquainted with the history, the traditions, the culture and the ideals of the other republics of America. To an increasing extent, courses on the languages, literature and history of the nations of Latin America are being offered in the educational institutions of the United States. A similar realization of the importance of becoming better acquainted with the history and development of the United States exists in the countries of Latin America. Increasing numbers of students from the countries to the south are being enrolled in the colleges and universities of the United States. I cannot emphasize too strongly this important aspect of inter-American relations. These cultural currents not only contribute

to better international understanding, but also emphasize the essential unity of interest of the American republics."[27]

In an address at the annual meeting of the American Academy of Political and Social Science at Philadelphia on April 18, 1931, on the same theme, Walter C. Thurston, Chief of the Division of Latin American Affairs in the Department of State, said,

> "Whereas less than a dozen colleges and universities in the United States offered courses in Latin American history, literature, art, and institutions at the close of the World War, more than 200 do so today, and . . . there are now more than 1,200 students from Latin American republics enrolled in our schools. The accomplishments which already have rewarded the activities of these agencies amply warrant the conviction that the cultural ties between the United States and Latin America will become increasingly numerous and strengthened, and that the good understanding which they will bring about will constitute the greatest monument to Pan Americanism."[28]

He paid special tribute to the role of the Pan American Union and the Institute of International Education (IIE), and the private foundations, professional organizations, universities, and colleges, which were the source of U.S. funding for these quietly growing cultural contacts and relationships with the Latin American countries.

Notes

CHAPTER I

1. J. Fred Rippy, *Latin America in World Politics* (New York: F. S. Crofts and Co., 1940); Graham H. Stuart, *Latin America and the United States* (New York: The Century Co., 1922).
2. Samuel Guy Inman, *Inter-American Conferences 1826–1954, History and Problems.* Edited by Harold E. Davis. (Washington, D.C.: Univ. Press and Community College Press, 1965), p. 34. Inman (1877–1965), historian and publicist, was a prolific writer on inter-American affairs, and throughout a long career a zealous promoter of closer inter-American cultural relations.
3. The following paragraphs on the 6-week tour of the United States are based on *International American Conference. Reports of Committees and Discussion Thereon. Excursion Appendix*, vol. III (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1890); *Conferencia Internacional Americana . . . Relación del Viaje de los Señores Delegados . . . Notas Tomadas de "El Avisador Hispano-Americano" de Nueva York* (New York: "El Avisador Hispano-Americano" Publishing Co., 1890); *Excursión Con Que El Gobierno de los Estados Unidos Obsequia A La Conferencia Internacional Americana* . . . (Philadelphia: Allen, Lane and Scott, n.d.).
4. Inman, *op cit.*, pp. 35, 36, 39, 45–46.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 49.

6. *Ibid.*, pp. 63, 64, 69–71; William Spence Robertson, *Hispanic American Relations with the United States* (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1923), pp. 396–397; Philip C. Jessup, *Elihu Root* (New York: Dodd, Mead and Co., 1938), p. 468.
7. Robertson, *op. cit.*, pp. 404–406.
8. Inman, *op. cit.*, pp. 77–78.
9. *Ibid.*, pp. 79–80.
10. *Report from the Secretary of State to the Congress*, 61st Cong., 3d sess., S. Doc. 744 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1911), pp. 25, 226, 283.
11. Robertson, *op. cit.*, p. 409.
12. *Ibid.*, pp. 407–409; Samuel Guy Inman, "Background and Problems in Intellectual Exchange," in *Inter-American Intellectual Interchange* (Austin: Institute of Latin American Studies of the Univ. of Tex., 1943), p. 7.
13. *Proceedings of the Second Pan American Scientific Congress*, Washington, D.C., Dec. 27, 1915 to Jan. 8, 1916. Sec. IV, pt. I, vol. IV (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1917), pp. 561–563, 578; *Second Pan American Scientific Congress . . . The Final Act . . .* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1916), p. 31.
14. *Proceedings of the Second Pan American Scientific Congress*, p. 595.
15. *Ibid.*, pp. 571–573; "Preliminary Study of Means of Strengthening the Educational Ties of the Americas With Special Reference to the Possibility of Establishing a University of the Americas," study prepared in response to a request from the Committee on Foreign Relations of the U.S. Senate, Jan. 22, 1957, by Ruth McMurry, International Educational Exchange Service, Dept. of State, copy in CU/H.
16. George Creel, *How We Advertised America* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1920), pp. 314–316.
17. Inman, *Inter-American Conferences*, *op. cit.*, p. 94.
18. *Hispania*, XV (Oct. 1932), p. 360.
19. *Ibid.*, pp. 361–362.
20. *Ibid.*, X (May 1927), pp. 129–137.
21. Ray Lyman Wilbur, "The Sixth Pan American Conference," *Hispania*, XI (May 1928), pp. 213–214.
22. *Ibid.*, p. 214.
23. This summary account of President-elect Hoover's good will tour is based largely on: Alexander DeConde, *Herbert Hoover's Latin American Policy* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford Univ. Press, 1951), pp. 14–24; "Addresses Delivered During the Visit of Herbert Hoover, President Elect of the United States, to Central and South America, November–December 1928" (Washington, D.C.: Pan American Union, 1929).
24. *Inter-American Congress of Rectors, Deans, and Educators in General, Habana, Cuba, February 20–23, 1930—Report of the Chairman of the Delegation of the United States of America* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1931), pp. 77–80. See also pp. 123–132.
25. DeConde, *op. cit.*, p. 124.
26. *Ibid.*, p. 125. See also Bryce Wood, *The Making of the Good Neighbor Policy* (New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1961), pp. 123–135; Rippy, *op. cit.*, p. 283.
27. *Hispania*, XIV (May 1931), pp. 213–214.
28. James W. Gantenbein, ed., *The Evolution of Our Latin-American Policy, A Documentary Record* (New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1950), pp. 148–149.

CHAPTER II

Private Inter-American Cultural Exchange Activity

The first century and a half of cultural relations between the United States and the Latin American nations, until the 1930's, was almost exclusively a story of privately inspired and privately funded activity.

Examples of early inter-American cultural relations involving an exchange of knowledge and ideas, and personal contacts, were few before the era of the wars of independence throughout the hemisphere, which extended from the late 18th century in some areas, such as ours, into the early 19th century in some of the Latin American countries. On our territorial borders they were the contacts involved in frontier trade, exploration, and border politics.[1] Focal points of continuing personal contacts were Philadelphia, Boston, New York, and as a result of the period of Spanish rule in Louisiana from 1763 to 1800, New Orleans and St. Louis. The first isolated personal contacts with South Americans of significance were those of early seafarers and naval seamen, followed by the "Boston men," the name given to the contraband traders and whalers who sailed from various ports along the North Atlantic seaboard to trade or whale around the periphery of Latin America.[2] Next were the political leaders or their emissaries from Latin America inspired by our American Revolution and the political ideas of the newly independent United States, and the U.S. Government agents sent to several of the emerging republics to the south. Later, as independent countries were established throughout Latin America, and official diplomatic missions were accredited, the freedom of travel to and from Latin America was more open and unrestricted. Person-to-person contacts expanded in a variety of fields and activities.

The first evidences of serious intellectual interest in Latin America developed in the period from the 1780's to the 1820's. Although this interest was represented by only a handful of intellectuals and public leaders, and personal contacts were largely through correspondence and the exchange of publications among a few scholars and intellectual leaders, it marked an epoch-making awakening. The real beginnings of cultural relations between the United States and Latin America can be clearly traced to this period.

The spirit of inquiry that characterized the Enlightenment of the second half of the 18th century, an age of inspired philosophical thought, humanistic and scientific investigation and discovery, was the catalyst that brought together the best minds of all of Western Europe and the Western Hemisphere, North and South. Enlightenment ideas and writings circulated freely in Spanish America among intellectual, professional, and clerical groups, within universities, in the new economic societies called *Sociedades económicas de amigos del país*, and, with restrictions, in the public press. Patterned on their Spanish models, economic societies were formed in the principal cities of Spanish America, as in Spain, with the aim of promoting useful knowledge. U.S. learned societies with similar goals, established in that era, were the American Philosophical Society in Philadelphia, the New York Historical Society, the Massachusetts Historical Society, the American Academy of Arts and Sciences in Boston, and the American Antiquarian Society, in Worcester, Massachusetts. The center of colonial culture in English-speaking North America in the second half of the 18th century, Philadelphia, had established relations with European scientific circles, and its libraries included historical and literary works which provided a basis for serious Latin American study. Boston and New York followed similar lines of scholarly interest drawing on the book collections of Harvard College, the Massachusetts Historical Society, the New York Historical Society Library, and the New York Society Library, an excellent library for general readers. Members of the learned societies corresponded with their Latin American counterparts on their research, and exchanged library collections, articles, gifts, and studies including sets of their published transactions.[3]

Benjamin Franklin, of so many accomplishments, including the founding of the American Philosophical Society, was the key figure in opening the way. His discovery of the identity of electricity and lightning in 1752 was widely acclaimed by European scientists and was reported in the publications of scientific societies in the capitals of Latin America from Mexico City to Santiago, Chile. In 1784 he was the first American selected to membership in the Spanish Academy of History. The American Philosophical Society was the first North American scientific group to elect Spaniards and Spanish Americans as corresponding members. Franklin, of humble New World background, like that of other notable North American intellectual leaders in this period who equaled their European contemporaries in creativity and brilliance, became the admiration and model of Latin American intellectual leaders. Through his inspiration to the leaders of the area in science, letters, and political thought, he effected a great stimulus upon Spanish American Enlightenment.[4]

The leaders of the Latin American wars of independence read with great admiration the political treatises written by the Founding Fathers of the U.S. Government, and some visited the United States in person. The U.S. example was an inspiration to them. Francisco de Miranda, of Venezuela, known as the "Precursor" of Latin American independence, in his *Diary* of a visit to the United States in 1783–84, displays this great admiration for our political ideas and institutions. His visit to the United States was in part to obtain ideas and support for his political cause, and he met nearly everyone of prominence. But he was also interested in all aspects of a country he deeply admired.

In his U.S. travels Miranda was most impressed by the intellectual and social life in the principal cities, and the public schools and public libraries. He made it a special point to visit institutions of higher learning. He visited the "College" at Princeton; Yale College; the "College" in Providence, Rhode Island (Brown University); and "the university at Cambridge" (Harvard College); where he met with the presidents and members of the faculty. In his comments on these institutions, he was not overly impressed either with their curriculum or their limited scientific equipment and library holdings. Their physical structure and appearance appeared very modest compared to some of the older and much larger universities in Latin America. He noted in his diary that theology was the most important department, and that these colleges were best suited to prepare young men for the ministry. At Harvard he noted that "there was not a single course in modern languages."[5] Miranda, who personified the spirit of the Enlightenment in Latin America, believed that book knowledge was narrow and unprofitable without the wisdom acquired by visiting other places in person, and considered that modern languages were an indispensable preparation. He returned to the United States 20 years later, in the fall of 1805, to seek help for the independence of his homeland.

Other political and intellectual leaders from Latin America followed Miranda as visitors to the United States. Simón Bolívar, of Venezuela, the principal figure in the independence of Spanish America, made a brief visit to the United States in 1806. An increasing number of North American scholars and scientists, individually or through learned societies such as the American Philosophical Society in Philadelphia, the New York Historical Society, and the New York Lyceum of Natural History, and later the scholarly editors of *The North American Review* in Boston, established lasting relationships with individual scholars and scientists in Mexico, Guatemala, Peru, Argentina, Colombia, and Chile, and published articles dealing with previously little known aspects of Latin America.

In the United States, Franklin had worthy successors as inter-American "cultural ambassadors."[6] Two deserve special mention, Dr. Benjamin Smith Barton, Professor of Natural History at the College of Philadelphia, and Dr. Samuel Waltham Mitchill, a distinguished scientist of Columbia College in New York. Dr. Barton examined Spanish American sources dealing with Indian cultures of Mexico and Peru. He was an eminent physician, whose influence was especially felt in Guatemala, where some of his research papers on goiter and vaccination, published in Philadelphia, were read by colleagues and extensively described in the *Gazeta de Guatemala* in 1801 and 1802. Dr. José Felipe Flores, a noted Guatemalan physician, visited Philadelphia in 1797 to meet Barton and other leading figures there in the field of science before going to Europe to continue his research on a royal grant from the Spanish Government.

Dr. Mitchill set himself the task of illuminating the U.S. public on the accomplishments of Spanish American science. His address to the New York Historical society in 1813 opened to the view of his listeners the achievements of his Mexican, Colombian, and Peruvian colleagues. Both Barton and Mitchill clashed with widely read British and French authors who had a low esteem of the level of culture and intellectual life in Latin America. In 1811, reviewing in the New York *Medical Repository* Alexander von Humboldt's classic *Political Essay on the Kingdom of New Spain*, based on Humboldt's visits to Latin America at the request of the Spanish Government at the turn of the century, Mitchill wrote:

> "Nothing has been a more trite and erroneous subject of vulgar remark than the ignorance of the lazy Dons. This silly cant has been imitated in our country from the English . . . A moderate inquiry will evince that New Spain has produced a full proportion of respectable observers and valuable writings . . ."

For three decades Mitchill was a leader in promoting closer inter-American cooperation in scientific research. In 1817 he stimulated an effort on the part of the New York Lyceum of Natural History, of which he was one of the founders, to promote closer cooperation with Chilean scholars through contacts he had established in Chile by personal correspondence. He made scientific friends all over Latin America.

The few books in English about Latin America generally available to the limited reading public in the United States were, with rare exceptions, translations published in England or France that were from 50 to 15 years out of date, or works by English authors who perpetuated the centuries-old "Black Legend" that deprecated Spanish civilization and with it the cultural heritage it transmitted to its dependencies in America. As for current events in Latin America, up to the second decade of the 19th century news items were confined to several newspapers and periodicals published in Philadelphia, Boston, New York, Baltimore, and New Orleans. Some of the few North Americans who had visited Latin America in the first decade of the 19th century published accounts of their experiences and observations in these periodicals.

After 1810, U.S. Government representatives were sent to Argentina, Chile, Mexico, and Brazil, and Latin American missions came to the United States. Commerce had grown, knowledge had been diffused and exchanged, and the independence movements had sparked a feeling of inter-American identity. Through these emissaries new cultural ties were established. Henry M. Brackenridge, who was stationed in Buenos Aires in 1817–18, assisted in the translation and circulation in the United States of the history of Argentina by Dr. Gregorio Funes. Part of the function of Jeremy Robinson, consular agent in Chile and Peru in 1818, was to promote inter-American cultural relations. He stimulated an exchange of correspondence between Chilean and U.S. scholars under the guidance of Dr. Mitchill. Joel Poinsett, a U.S. agent of long residence in Latin American countries, contributed to this same cause through his writings and gifts of books to the American Philosophical Society. William Tudor, founder and editor of *The North American Review*, while agent in Lima in 1823, sent the Massachusetts Historical Society books on Peruvian antiquities. These government representatives were, in effect, our first cultural attachés in Latin America.

The first diplomatic representatives to Latin American countries were instructed to report on cultural life in the countries to which they were assigned. For example, in "personal instructions" Secretary John Quincy Adams informed the first Minister to represent the U.S. Government in a Latin American country, Richard C. Anderson, appointed Minister to Great Colombia on January 17, 1823, that one of his important duties was to transmit to his government "accurate information" on the internal and external affairs of Great Colombia, including "any knowledge which might be useful to the United States about the government, finances, commerce, arts, and sciences of that State."[7] Some of the most valuable and useful information about the current Latin American scene during that period came through the official reports prepared by U.S. diplomatic and consular officers, and in articles and books published by a number of them after their return to the United States. The only two slender volumes written by U.S. authors that gave up-to-date information about Latin America printed in the United States prior to 1825 were those of Poinsett on Mexico and a more general survey by Brackenridge.

After the former Spanish dependencies in America won their independence, and despite the domestic turmoil that continued to plague some of the newborn republics, inter-American travel became more frequent. North Americans gradually became more familiar with Latin American culture through firsthand experience, long residence, and field research.

The first Latin American students in this country were two Chilean boys, Luis and Mateo Blanco, enrolled at Yorktown School in New York in 1815. Another young Chilean came to the United States to study in 1818. Four years later Simón Bolívar's nephew and adopted son arrived in Philadelphia to attend school, and in 1827 he enrolled at the University of Virginia.[8] Beginning in the 1830's, an increasing number of students from Mexico and Cuba attended St. Louis University in St. Louis, Missouri. From then on modest but increasing numbers of Latin American students from other parts of Latin America came to study in the United States, all supported by their families. By the middle of the century they were attending nearly a dozen universities east of the Mississippi River. The University of Pennsylvania and the University of Michigan led the way.

St. Louis University was a natural destination of students from Cuba and Mexico, via New Orleans and up the Mississippi River. The large number of students from these two neighboring countries made it necessary for the university to maintain permanent agents in New Orleans, and the students traveled from New Orleans up the river "accompanyed by a trusted person." During the 1840's they were a large part of the student body. Between the school terms some 30 to 40, chiefly Mexicans and Creoles from Louisiana, spent vacation periods at the university and in the neighborhood, "where different measures are adopted for the purpose of diverting and amusing them."[9] An attempt at hazing made toward the end of 1836 by a group of northern students at the expense of some of their fellow students from Mexico at St. Louis University, which nearly had a tragic outcome, recorded by the President of the University, is a sidelight on foreign student life of the day:

> "A prodigious quantity of snow had fallen on the day previous. Our Missourians and acclimated Lousianians to the number of about 20 were inspired, no doubt by the black spirit, to roll in the snow all those who had arrived in Missouri from the South since last winter. Some good-natured boys as O'Connell, the two Commageres and some others after some debate, cheerfully submitted to this strange ceremony; and seemed to enjoy the joke like the rest. But our Spaniards were not so easily wrought into compliance. They made serious objections, but our Missourians insisted on their submission, alleging that it was a custom of long standing and as such demanded respect and obedience on their part. But nought would do. The Spaniards remained obstinate; they declared that they would never consent to take the baptism of snow . . . Our baptists finding that the means which they considered fair took no effect, had recourse to violence. Peter Corlis boldly stepped up and attacked Argornedo. Upon which the latter drew his knife and slightly wounded his aggressor in the arm. One of our ceremonious fellows interfered and endeavored to wrest the knife from Argornedo. Then Lopez and Medina with drawn knives came to the assistance of Argornedo, but were stopped by the prefect, who by this time had recovered from a kind of illusion which had made him believe all the time that it was mere fun. At night I gave both parties a severe lecture in presence of all the students, required mutual pardon and ordered all dirk-knives to be given up within 24 hours under pain of dismission." [10]

Although in the early 19th century North Americans also came in closer contact with the South American countries, the more frequent personal contact was along the Spanish borderlands, the outlying northern fringe of Latin America extending from Louisiana to California. The culture and people of the Spanish Southwest, especially, became an unavoidable presence as the frontier of U.S. settlements moved westward. Beginning early in the century there was an extensive literature in the United States on this new experience, mainly in published diaries and journals of adventure, exploration, trade, and military expeditions. New Mexico, the oldest and most populous Spanish-speaking center in the area, was a unique cultural experience. All the U.S. writers were in general accord with the ideology of their own society and generally looked upon this Spanish-speaking society as one of strangers and aliens. Symbolic reminders of cultural relations in this vast border area, coined during the time of the Texas rebellion against Mexico in 1835 and the Mexican War from 1846 to 1848, were the terms "greaser" and "gringo" which became household words of mutual disparagement. It was only toward the end of the century that North Americans felt the impulse to portray and to read about the Hispanic and Indo-American heritages of the Spanish Southwest in a quite different light. Horizons were broadened by a new generation of sympathetic writers. But the image of Latin American culture across the vast continent to the south was still dim and distorted, viewed more or less a replica of these northernmost frontier outposts of colonial Spanish America, which were "only the tail of the dog."

Nonetheless, from the mid-19th century on there was a noticeable awakening of interest in all of Spanish and Portuguese America, and the beginning of more lasting cooperative activities in the sciences, archeology, ethnology, education, history, and literature. All this was the work of a handful of intellectual leaders primarily in the literary and academic scene in the United States, and virtually unknown to the man on the street or on the byroads across the United States. In the area of geographic discovery and related sciences, it was a combination of the activities of learned institutions, government action, and the explorations of adventurous travelers penetrating vast unknown areas of the continent.

From the 1850's on, a number of important books were published in New York and Boston by U.S. writers who had traveled extensively throughout one or more of the Latin American countries. These varied activities gave new impetus to the continuing collaboration between scholars and students in many fields. Private educational institutions, universities, and a few individual patrons of science in the United States provided financial support for these personal efforts, with facilitation from agencies of the U.S. Government and the cooperation of Latin American governments. Some of the officers assigned to Latin American countries by the Department of State traveled widely in their host countries and wrote informative reports on their observations, and the same was true of some of the distinguished official representatives of Latin American governments in Washington.

In scientific exchange, the U.S. Government played a premier role. The first official exploring expedition to South America was sent by the Department of the Navy in 1838 to explore and survey the coastal areas around the tip of South America. The purpose of the expedition, as authorized by an Act of Congress in 1836, was "to extend the empire of commerce and science," to identify the safe courses for navigation and thereby promote the commerce of citizens of the United States engaged in whaling. The expedition was accompanied by a philologist, a conchologist, a mineralogist, a botanist, and two naturalists. It resulted in the publication in the United States of several important volumes on the places visited and on the scientific data gathered. The U.S. Navy sent two other notable expeditions to South America in 1851 and 1853 to obtain information on the navigation of the upper Amazon River in Brazil, and the Rio de la Plata and its tributaries. Permission had been obtained from the government authorities in Rio de Janeiro and Buenos Aires. These expeditions, like the earlier ones to the "South Seas," further increased and diffused knowledge about Latin America in the United States, through the publication of the findings by the U.S. Government and through other channels. In 1867 the Smithsonian Institution supported a scientific expedition to the upper Amazon, on behalf of the Lyceum of Natural History at Williams College, the findings of which were published by Professor James Orton, the leader of the expedition.

Significant cultural and scientific contacts between the United States and Brazil, the large Portuguese-speaking country to the south, began during the enlightened reign of Brazil's Emperor Dom Pedro II, which extended over nearly half a century from 1840 to 1889. To make Brazil better known at home and abroad he encouraged foreign scientific expeditions and cultural contacts. Several scientific expeditions were sent to Brazil during that period, stimulated and facilitated by the interest and collaboration of the Emperor, which resulted in important discoveries by U.S. scientists in the fields of geology, geography, and zoology. Most famous were the expeditions led by Louis Agassiz, Professor of Geology and Zoology at Harvard University, in 1865–66; Charles Hartt, Professor of Geology at Cornell, who was a member of the Agassiz expedition and headed another expedition in 1871; and John Casper Branner, who later became Professor of Geology at Indiana and Stanford, who engaged in geological research in Brazil from 1874 to 1884. The published reports on these expeditions were valuable contributions to knowledge in both countries about the geology and physical geography of Brazil.[11]

Of the Latin American government leaders who personally encouraged support for U.S. scientific exchange in those years, few equaled Dom Pedro II of Brazil. He visited the United States in 1876 to attend the Philadelphia Exhibition celebrating the centennial of U.S. independence. The Brazilian exhibit had been collected under his direction. He spent three months touring the country from coast to coast, during which he met the leading figures in Government, science, education, letters, and the arts. A New York *Herald* reporter who interviewed Dom Pedro was so impressed by his extensive itinerary in the United States that he commented, "Your Majesty is quite a Yankee." Dom Pedro answered, "Certainly I am a Yankee."

In the early 1840's, John Lloyd Stephens rediscovered and wrote about the celebrated Maya ruins of Chichen Itzá, Uxmal, Copán, and Palenque; and in the following decade Ephraim Squier wrote on Central American ethnology, on the basis of findings made during several years of residence and travel in the area. In the following decades the archeology and ethnology of other countries of Latin America and the Caribbean were the subject of serious cooperative field research.

As noted earlier, institutional cooperation kept pace with personal contacts. A landmark event was the establishment of the Smithsonian Institution in Washington, D.C., in 1846. Inheriting a long tradition based on private initiative, as an agency of Government it soon became an intermediary for a wide variety of international scientific exchanges. It helped distribute the papers of North American scientific societies in Latin America, and after 1880 it acted similarly for the scientific and statistical papers of the U.S. Government. It came to broaden its role in the dissemination of scientific knowledge, and its own work as a center of research, to include ethnology, anthropology, and the natural and earth sciences. Dedicated to the purposes of acquiring and diffusing knowledge, it attained unquestioned prestige in the intellectual community here and abroad. By the end of the century it had woven a network of communication that bound the scientific community of the entire hemisphere.

In the field of education, the first notable exchange of ideas resulted from the interest in U.S. education by the Argentine educator and publicist Domingo Faustino Sarmiento, an interest which had been inspired by the influence of Horace Mann, whom he had met in the United States, and whose ideas he absorbed and later used in reforming the educational system in his country. He visited the United States in 1847 while in exile, and was appointed Argentine envoy plenipotentiary to the United States in 1863. In 1868 he became President of Argentina, and during his administration he personally promoted a number of educational activities resulting from his observation of the U.S. educational system. He sanctioned a law subsidizing the establishment of two national normal schools. He approved a law stipulating that 20 professors should be brought from foreign countries to the University of Córdoba and other institutions. Unique and most successful as a lasting influence on education in Argentina was the employment of women teachers from the United States to teach at the newly established normal schools and in various high schools in the provinces. Although the movement of professors and teachers was in one direction, it could be described as the first large-scale planned exchange-of-persons project between the United States and Latin America. In 1871 the first group of four teachers arrived, 23 more arrived in 1883, and altogether 62 teachers were employed up to 1889. Many of the teachers remained in Argentina for a number of years as directors of these schools. During this same period, Chile and Uruguay were other examples where the educational ideas of Horace Mann directly influenced educational reform especially at the pre-university levels.[12]

A unique contribution was made to Latin American education by U.S. book publishers. The most notable work was that of Daniel Appleton in New York after 1850. As early as the 1840's D. Appleton and Company set up the machinery for the export of books to Latin American schools, colleges, and libraries. It soon was publishing, translating, and selling to Latin American educational institutions, school and college textbooks adopted and used in U.S. institutions at the same educational levels. The company employed Latin Americans as editors, translators, and writers, including such distinguished persons as Domingo Sarmiento, Eugenio Hostos, and José Martí. Branch agencies of the firm were set up in Latin American cities. Appleton's reputation in Latin America was enhanced by its successful textbook series called Appleton's *Educational Series for Hispanic America*. The inter-American text series covered all the major subjects generally taught in schools and colleges. Many of these books were the same as those used in U.S. classrooms. Sarmiento, for example, recommended some of these textbooks for use in Argentine schools. Shortly before 1900 Appleton discontinued this project, which was supplanted in part by cheaper paper-bound books issued by French and Spanish publishers. It was not until the following decade that a few U.S. publishers began to show interest in publishing textbooks for Spanish language instruction in U.S. educational institutions, a field which did not begin to come into its own until the second decade of the 20th century.[13]

Protestant missionary groups from the U.S. established elementary and secondary schools in various Latin American countries beginning in the late 1830's, but these activities often caused more friction than friendship in countries where Roman Catholic ideas prevailed. The Methodists and Presbyterians were the most successful. Two of their schools in Brazil and Chile merit special mention in view of their continuing importance as educational institutions and the many students who received their education in these two schools from their founding to this day, later to become distinguished leaders in many walks of life: The Santiago College for Girls, established in 1880 in Santiago, Chile, and MacKenzie College in São Paulo, Brazil, established in 1890. Several of the first teachers in both of these schools were graduates of colleges or universities in the United States. English language classes were an established part of the curriculum in these schools, which were veritable bridgeheads of U.S. cultural interest.[14]

In the field of letters and intellectual life the mid-19th century, the era of Washington Irving, William H. Prescott, and George Ticknor was one, never again repeated in the United States, when a group of leading writers brought Hispanic interest to central prominence in our literary and academic scene. In that period some of the leading literary works of Latin American authors began to be read and translated in the United States, and North American authors became more widely read in intellectual circles in Latin America. The many Cuban patriots who took refuge in the United States down to 1898 included some of their leading men of letters. The most famous of them were the poet José María de Heredia, and the great writer and thinker José Martí. William Cullen Bryant, one of the first poets in the United States to learn Spanish and to take a deep interest in the poetry of Spanish America, was among the translators of Heredia's poems. Some of the Cuban intellectuals lived in exile in the United States for many years and came to know intimately some of the leading U.S. poets, creative writers and educators of that era. Among the educators were George Ticknor, Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, Ticknor's successor in the chair of French and Spanish literature at Harvard, Ralph Waldo Emerson, and most influential of all, Horace Mann. Perhaps the most popular U.S. poets, whom their fellow poets in Latin America preferred to translate most often, were Longfellow, Whitman, Poe, Whittier, and Bryant. In 1861, the Cuban poet Juan Clemente Zenea published what appears to be the first comprehensive study of the literature of the United States in the Spanish language, entitled *Sobre la literatura de los Estados Unidos.*

Between 1860 and 1880 most of the leading literary figures in the United States began to be known to Latin American intellectuals. Language remained the principal barrier to a wider and better understanding and appreciation. By 1880, nevertheless, there began to develop all through Latin America an awakening interest in the language and literature of the United States, and at the same time Latin American men of letters became better known to their counterparts in the United States.[15]

The Spanish-American War, and the resulting anti-Yankee literary movement which sprang up at the turn of the century, proved for a time to be a stumbling block in the progress of these many manifestations of closer cultural contact and relationships, as well as a new irritant to political harmony between North and South. The easy victory of the United States over Spain created a strong current of pro-Spanish sentiment, and some of Latin America's most brilliant writers bitterly attacked the United States for what was referred to as "the victory of the strong over the weak, of the lusty barbarian over the delicate and exquisite being." They accused the United States of being a materialistic nation seeking world domination, and warned their countrymen not to fall into a trap of moral conquest by the "Yankee imperialists." They appealed especially to the youth of Latin America, and influenced a whole generation of opinion about the United States.

Among the Latin American writers who took up this cause most vigorously during the first two decades of the 20th century were José Enrique Rodó, of Uruguay; Rufino Blanco Fombona, of Venezuela; Manuel Ugarte, of Argentina; Carlos Pereyra, of Mexico; and Rubén Darío, of Nicaragua, the greatest poet of the Spanish-speaking world of that era. Most of these authors did their best writing while living in Spain and France, and returned to their homelands confirmed Yankeephobes. Ugarte traveled throughout Latin America preaching his anti-U.S. message. Spain, the mother country of the Spanish-speaking republics, and France, the spiritual home of many of their intellectual leaders since early in the century, left no stone unturned in encouraging these sentiments.

On the brighter side of events, stemming immediately from the Spanish-American War, were the two large exchange projects under which Cuban and Puerto Rican students and teachers visited the United States under semi-U.S. Government/private auspices, growing out of U.S. efforts to reorient the educational systems in these former Spanish overseas dominions following the war. One was sponsored by the Cuban Educational Association of the United States of America (1898–1901), in New York, the other by Harvard University (1900).[16]

Major General Joseph Wheeler and the Cuban General Calixto García, who had fought together in the Cuban war, were the organizers of the Cuban Educational Association. The project was carried out under the initial direction of G. K. Harroun of Union College in close collaboration with U.S. educational officials in Cuba. Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler of Columbia University and Theodore Roosevelt were among the directors of the organization. In the fall of 1898 a form letter was sent to colleges throughout the country which stated,

> "General Joseph Wheeler, U.S.A., is exceedingly interested in the subject of the education of Cuban young men and the General fully believes that the American colleges could aid very materially in building up a good feeling between Cuba and our people by each college offering to educate two or more young men from Cuba who could be found anxious to secure a college course in this country . . . If you will signify your willingness to care for and give to two or more young Cubans a free course in your college, General Wheeler will assist in every way in his

> power in selecting proper candidates for your institution to receive on this basis."

When the project became known, so many appeals came from Puerto Rico that it was decided to include Puerto Rican candidates. U.S. educational institutions provided tuition, housing, and attended to the needs of the students. The railroads furnished transportation at reduced rates. Although the record is not clear, it appears that they traveled to the United States on Army transports. In 1900, through this Association, about 1,500 Cuban and Puerto Rican students were enrolled in academies, colleges, universities, and advanced scientific and technical schools in the United States.

The second large educational exchange project of this type with Cuba following the Spanish-American War was the bringing of a group of 1,450 Cuban teachers to Harvard University in 1900 to attend a special 6-week summer school. The project was initiated by U.S. educational officials in Cuba in cooperation with President Eliot of Harvard. President Eliot raised $70,000 from more than 1,000 persons and financial institutions, and the teachers were carried to and from New York to Havana in U.S. Army transports. Some of the teachers registered in regular summer school classes. When the summer course was concluded the teachers were conducted on tours of New York and Philadelphia, after which they visited Washington, D.C., where they were received by President McKinley.[17]

The period between the Spanish-American War and 1914 witnessed the development of closer educational, cultural, and scientific interchange throughout the world, hastened by improved means of sea and rail transportation and advances in telegraphic and cable communication. Larger patterns for the future continued to be shaped through international relationships with Western Europe. Before the development of our own graduate and professional schools our students went to European universities, especially to Germany, for educational opportunities that they could not find in the United States, and traveling fellowships were much-prized opportunities. The establishment of the Rhodes scholarships at Oxford in 1904 came at a time when the actual need of U.S. scholars for what Oxford could offer in education was diminishing, but these scholarships provided opportunity for cultural experiences that have had important consequences.

The tremendous expansion of American higher education during the last decade of the 19th century altered fundamentally old patterns of educational travel both to and from the United States. American students continued to travel abroad in large numbers, but after 1900 more of them went to Europe for specific educational interests rather than to earn advanced degrees. And for the first time, foreign students in large numbers were attracted to the United States, not only from Europe, but also from the Near and Far East and Latin America. In such fields as education, business and commerce, engineering, agriculture, and medicine, students abroad, especially non-Europeans, came to view the United States much as we viewed Germany in the 19th century. Whereas formerly, both as regards the United States and the Latin American countries, the movement was mainly from the Western Hemisphere to Europe, now the traffic between North and South America was adding a third line, linking a growing educational triangle. The more formal international organizations of scientists and scholars in their respective disciplines or fields of study, which had begun in the second half of the 19th century with specialized congresses, were at first largely European in origin, and were attended mostly by Europeans, but the number of American scholars participating in them increased rapidly. In this process international expositions were also the occasion for the gathering of scholars from all parts of the world.

By 1914 a small nucleus of organizations and universities in the United States had accepted study abroad as a valid educational experience and sought to make it a part of American higher education. In 1890 the American Association of University Women awarded the first fellowship in the United States to enable a woman scholar to pursue research abroad. During the next 20 years research fellowships for study abroad increased modestly in number, and several universities, including Harvard, Columbia, Chicago, and Wisconsin, worked out exchange agreements with several European universities. Some of the millions of dollars from the great private fortunes of financial and business leaders of the prosperous 1880's and 1890's, who up to this time had lavished large sums to endow universities and colleges, hospitals, libraries, and countless charities within the United States, began to trickle into international humanitarian and educational activities.

Another development which was to have worldwide influence on the further development of educational and cultural exchange was the movement to promote peace and international understanding. This peace movement, which became active in world-minded U.S. circles between 1910 and 1914, took shape with the founding of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, the American School Peace League, and the World Peace Foundation. The leaders identified with this movement were among the advocates for private financial support of the international intellectual and educational activities that burgeoned during these years: such as Andrew Carnegie, Nicholas Murray Butler, James T. Shotwell, and David Starr Jordan.

Still at the edge of this larger scene, the intellectual contacts being cultivated with Latin American countries were quietly, if not dramatically, creating a widening network of cooperative relationships of enduring influence. The recommendations made at the various inter-American conferences and congresses of professional experts spurred the interest of private foundations and educational institutions in the United States, and governments and government-sponsored educational institutions in Latin America. The increased interest in U.S. advances in various scientific fields resulted in further official requests by Latin American governments for cooperation in scientific expeditions and missions, notably from the Governments of Brazil and Argentina. U.S. collaborators included several U.S. Government agencies and private institutions, such as the Smithsonian Institution and the Carnegie Institution, in Washington, and U.S. universities and museums. In the medical field the U.S. War Department was engaged in cooperative projects.

As one example of U.S. Government cooperation, when the Argentine Government decided to encourage settlement in Patagonia by constructing railroads in the area, it requested and received a team of experts from the United States to make a geological survey of Patagonia. With the approval of the U.S. Government, Bailey Willis of the U.S. Geological Survey led a team which spent 3 years on the project. The survey resulted in the publication of a volume which became the pattern for the Argentine development of Patagonia, and the permanent organization of an Argentine Bureau of Hydrographic Study. The physical resources of the area were thoroughly studied, and a plan was proposed for the conservation of natural resources, especially the water power upon which the development of manufacturing would depend.

The Carnegie Museum sent several leading U.S. scientists to study marine life in Argentina, Brazil, Uruguay, Paraguay, and Bolivia during this period. Under the auspices of the American Museum of Natural History in New York in 1913–14, with the cooperation of the Brazilian Government, and some of its leading scientists and explorers, notably Colonel Rondon, ex-President Theodore Roosevelt and a group of U.S. scientists joined by the Brazilians explored the Amazon valley. On his return to the United States, Roosevelt wrote an interesting volume on the geographical discoveries that were made.

In 1911 Yale University sent an archeological expedition to Peru which resulted in the discovery by Professor Hiram Bingham of the famous Inca ruins at Machu Picchu. It stirred so much interest that Yale and the National Geographic Society sent another expedition to Peru the following year.[18]

The Museum of Natural History began a zoological study of Latin America in 1910 and sent other expeditions to Latin America in the following years. With U.S. Government support or through private initiative archeological, historical, and scientific expeditions combed large parts of the interior of Central Mexico during this period. In the field of medicine, the great work initiated under the auspices of the U.S. Army in Cuba in eradicating yellow fever was extended to other tropical areas in Latin America and was continued with support from the Rockefeller Foundation which was established in 1913. The Rockefeller Foundation supported other major activities in Latin America in medicine and public health.[19]

Several educational missions were sent to Latin America during this period. Among those worthy of note was a group of four U.S. educators to Peru in 1909 who became, respectively, Adviser to the Peruvian Ministry of Education, Rector of the University of Cuzco, Director of the Normal School for Men in Lima, and Inspector for the Department of Lima. In 1914, the Pan American Division of the Carnegie Endowment sent a group of 12 U.S. educators to various Latin American countries to study education and to work out a plan of cooperation.[20]

By the first decade of the 20th century a few Latin American students were enrolled in U.S. universities with stipends provided not only from their own families but from their own governments. Among those with support from their governments, between 1900 and 1905, for example, there were 31 from Argentina and, in 1910, 6 from Peru. At that time there were over a hundred students in the United States from each of these countries. In 1911, the Carnegie Endowment, following the recommendation of the Fourth Pan American Conference, initiated a fellowship program for Latin American students, and also decided to provide funds for two professors from prominent Latin American universities to be sent to universities in the United States in exchange for two of their professors.[21] The Latin American students who attended U.S. colleges and universities during these years were largely in practical or technical fields of direct interest to their governments. A comparatively large number of them attended Harvard, Cornell, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Illinois, Michigan, Pennsylvania, and Texas. By 1911, it has been estimated that there was a total of 4,856 foreign university students in the United States. Of these, approximately 800 were from Latin American countries. Since there were several favored institutions in which substantial numbers were enrolled, foreign student advisers were appointed to assist these students in their social and academic adjustment. The first university to assign a member of its faculty as student adviser in the modern sense was the University of Illinois in 1908, and the second the University of Michigan in 1911.[22]

There was still no movement of U.S. students to Latin America. Europe remained the magnet. But a few U.S. students were among those teaching at American-sponsored denominational schools in several Latin American countries. YMCA's were occasionally a point of two-way student contacts, meager as they were. Beginning in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, in 1891, the YMCA of the United States and Canada established quarters in the capitals of several Latin American countries. They became young men's clubs, with reading rooms and libraries, and in some cases with facilities for physical training. In 1918 the branch in Buenos Aires had 1,700 members, almost one-third of whom were students in the University of Buenos Aires.[23]

The period from the 1890's to 1914 witnessed the beginning of serious scholarly interest in Latin American studies at several U.S. universities. The study and teaching of Latin American history at the graduate level began in this period, with California, Stanford, Columbia, Pennsylvania, Illinois, Yale, Harvard, and Texas leading the way. Among professional historians, Professor Bernard Moses of the University of California was the pioneer. He made an interesting speech in 1898, during the Spanish-American War, entitled "The Neglected Half of American History," voicing the need to study in greater depth the history and culture of the Latin American countries. He opened the way with a number of historical works which are classics to this day. Other leading pioneer professional scholars in Latin American history included Herbert E. Bolton of the University of California, William R. Shepherd of Columbia, Edward G. Bourne of Yale, William S. Robertson of Illinois, Clarence Haring of Harvard, and Percy A. Martin of Stanford. By 1914 the habit of international cultural relations, although unorganized and undirected, was fixed in American life, and Latin America, within intellectual, educational, and scientific circles, at least, was becoming better known. In 1918 Latin American historians began publication of the *Hispanic American Historical Review.*

The First World War brought a cessation of accustomed relations with Europe, and the force of propaganda directed against the United States by the enemy nations, often in the guise of cultural exchanges or founded upon earlier cultural relations, was experienced by Americans for the first time. Our participation in the war against Germany intensified propaganda efforts from that quarter both in the United States and in the neighboring Latin American countries. But it also brought to the many thousands of Americans involved in the war effort, both at home and abroad, a greater awareness of other peoples and interest in them. Thus, in spite of the isolationist reaction that followed the war, the people of the United States became more interested in international affairs than ever before. The Latin American countries, aligned with the Western Allies as partners in the war effort, suddenly became the center of much greater attention.

One of the most notable developments during the war was the emergence of Spanish language teaching to the pinnacle of popularity among the foreign languages taught in U.S. schools and universities. Prior to that time the major languages taught were French, German, and Latin. During the war German, the language of our temporary adversary, was unfortunately all but eliminated, and Spanish, the language of our Latin American neighbors and allies, long neglected in U.S. schools, climbed to the top along with French. Statistics in Spanish language enrollment in U.S. high schools show that the enrollment in 1910 was 6,406; in 1915, 35,882; and by 1922 it had jumped to 252,000. During the same period German decreased from 324,272 to 13,385. Although accurate statistics for the university level are lacking, the data available show a similar pattern. This situation was to continue only into the early 1920's, when the wartime enthusiasm waned. The popularity of Spanish language study had gained momentum, however, and there was to be another surge of interest during World War II. Proficiency in Spanish was widely proclaimed by the Government and by business establishments as basic for the growing commercial relationships with Latin America predicted for the future, and Spanish language professors enthusiastically encouraged the trend. Wider study of the language inspired by this upsurge of interest in Latin America provided a vehicle for increasing knowledge and appreciation of the ideas, institutions, and cultural heritage of Latin America.[24]

In 1917 a National Association of Teachers of Spanish was organized and began publication of *Hispania*, a professional journal for Spanish language teachers, which played an important part in advancing the quality of Spanish language teaching in U.S. schools and universities. This period opened a new era in the demand for textbooks for use in Spanish language classes, some of which were adopted by entire school systems. And with growing interest in Latin America, Latin American topics and illustrations gave these textbooks a practical and contemporary aspect that helped to enhance their attraction and wide use by the increasing crop of Spanish language teachers in high schools and colleges across the country. At the forefront in this field were several pioneer Spanish language scholars at Stanford University, the University of California, Harvard University, Columbia University, and teachers of Spanish in high schools in some of the larger cities, notably in New York City.

During the war years increased inter-American activity brought a modest response from private foundations and other private educational and cultural organizations. The Carnegie Endowment for International Peace was the leader.[25] The Endowment continued to provide funds for Latin American students, exchange professors and leaders, the exchange of books and other educational materials, surveys, and for research. In a special library exchange with Argentina, some 900 carefully selected books on U.S. history, government, literature, and science were sent by the Endowment to libraries in Argentina, while a comparable selection of books was sent by Argentina to the New York Public Library. The Endowment also provided financial support for important studies in law, economics, and political affairs in the Americas. In 1917, to stimulate the channels of communication between the peoples of the Americas, the Endowment began publishing a bilingual magazine *Inter-America*, with current information of general interest throughout the hemisphere. Although the publication was short-lived, it represented a growing need. The American Association of University Women, which pioneered in awarding exchange fellowships to women, offered its first fellowship to a woman from abroad to a Latin American in 1917. That same year a grant also was awarded for study in Latin America. The idea for fellowships to Latin America resulted from discussions with Latin American women at the Second Pan American Scientific Congress held in Washington in January 1916, at which several members of the Association helped make arrangements for Latin American women participants.[26]

The universities continued to lead the way. By the end of World War I, in addition to California, Texas, Columbia, Pennsylvania, Illinois, Harvard, and Yale, others including Colorado, Notre Dame, North Carolina, Brown, Indiana, Northwestern, and Goucher College were also offering courses in Latin American studies, at both the undergraduate and graduate levels, with increased attention to Latin American history, literature, and the Spanish language. A number of outstanding scholars, through their teaching and writings, pioneered in opening a new vista to our knowledge and understanding of the countries to the south.

The flow of exchange professors was still only a trickle, funded by private U.S. foundations and by universities in this country and in several Latin American countries. In 1913, for example, the distinguished Brazilian scholar Manuel de Oliveira Lima lectured at

Stanford and other universities, and in 1915 he was visiting professor at Harvard under such an arrangement. The first Carnegie Visiting Professor to Latin American universities was sent in 1917, Professor Charles M. Strong, of the University of Washington, who lectured at the University of Chile. At the same time the Endowment brought to the University of Washington Professor Benjamín Oyarzún of the University of Chile. In 1919 the University of California and the University of Chile established an inter-university professor exchange program, probably the first of this type. Under the arrangement two to four professors were to be exchanged each year with each country to pay the salary and traveling expenses of its own professors; in the case of Chile, the University of Chile and in the United States, the participating U.S. universities. The University of California agreed to be the agent for the Chilean Government in this country to make arrangements for the exchanges. The Chilean Government appropriated $12,000 as its contribution for the first year. For the first year, 1920, the two U.S. professors appointed were Dr. Charles E. Chapman, Associate Professor of History at the University of California, and Edward M. Gregory, a teacher of Spanish at the San Francisco Polytechnic High School.[27]

During the 15-year period from 1919 to 1933, the interchange of students, professors, and specialists between the United States and other countries of the world was on a scale that was unprecedented in history up to that time. Although Latin American exchanges were still comparatively slender compared to postwar exchanges with Europe, they were expanding at a modest pace. Since this activity was overshadowed by other domestic and international economic and political events during those years, however, it has become commonplace for writers to repeat each other in stating that our cultural contacts with Latin America were virtually nonexistent until the mid-1930's. This was by no means the case. The problem was that these activities were the work of the private sector, were being incubated in relatively limited intellectual and educational circles, and the man on the street and the average businessman were unaware of and unconcerned with the real progress that was actually taking place.

An equally important development during this period was the rapid growth of international organizations of a cultural or intellectual character, concerned with restoring and reconstructing after the havoc wrought by the war, no less needed in the cultural than in the material aspects of life. In this period of ferment and activity new cultural organizations were developed. The Research Councils, which had been a part of the war machinery in many countries, organized internationally. In the United States the American Council of Learned Societies, for example, was established at that time. Although these activities focused on U.S.-European cultural relations, other areas including Latin America were a part of their interests. The Committee on Intellectual Cooperation, appointed by the Council of the League of Nations in 1921, named a number of standing committees from time to time, and among them was a Committee on Literary Relations with Latin America. But despite its idealism the Committee on Intellectual Cooperation accomplished very little. It seemed to work on the assumption that peace could be attained by preaching peace. Of the multilateral programs, the Pan American Union, under the leadership of its Director General, Dr. Leo S. Rowe, was the only multinational organization really doing the yeoman's work in seeking private funds and opportunities for inter-American student and professor exchanges and the exchange of books and other educational information and materials.

With the return to peace in 1919 educational leaders both in the universities and in educational organizations, and those in the academic professions generally, plunged into the work of adjusting to the postwar opportunities and problems which presented themselves: reopening contact with European educational institutions, resuming travel of professors and students, preparing for returning soldiers, and a new influx of foreign students and refugee students and professors from devastated areas. A few farsighted educators had already turned their attention to the postwar need of some central agency or organization which could serve as a catalyst for effectively organizing the skills and the money to meet this challenge. This movement, attributable to private initiatives alone, resulted in the creation of an important national private agency, the Institute of International Education (IIE), supported by private foundation funds. The establishment of this organization was largely the work of Stephen P. Duggan. The Institute, along with the Pan American Union, was to play a pioneering role in developing policies and techniques of exchange-of-persons activity which led to the eventual recognition of the legitimacy of direct Government sponsorship of international educational and cultural exchange activities. It was to be expected that the focus of interest of the Institute would be Europe, and this was the primary concern of the new national organization for the next decade, although it was established from the beginning to coordinate and administer the international educational exchange of professors, distinguished public leaders, and students, and to promote U.S. cultural relations worldwide.[28]

The establishment of the IIE on February 1, 1919, with financial support from the Carnegie Endowment was closely related to a proposal made by the American Council on Education which had been founded in 1918 "under pressure of war" as a means of communication between educational organizations of the United States and the Federal Government. It established a Committee on International Educational Relations "to coordinate . . . and direct present and prospective agencies for the strengthening of cultural relations with foreign lands, especially through the interchange of students, and teachers." It approached the Carnegie Endowment for financial support to set up a proposed International Educational Bureau, but the request was turned down. Duggan had submitted a separate proposal to the Carnegie Endowment in 1917 which had been rejected at the time.

After a review of both plans, and further discussions among Nicholas Murray Butler, President of Columbia University and a Director of the Carnegie Endowment, and Duggan, Henry S. Pritchett, the President of the Carnegie Foundation, and Elihu Root, Director of the Carnegie Endowment, funds were approved for the new IIE. On Butler's recommendation Duggan was named Director of the Institute. He was provided an initial administrative budget of $30,000 a year. By 1923 the Institute was receiving over $50,000 a year from the Carnegie Endowment, but with no funds for scholarships. So Duggan himself canvassed U.S. universities and publicized the Institute's clearinghouse role abroad for sponsors and sources of funds to stimulate exchange of students and professors. Private foundations sponsoring exchange activities, an increasing number of the some 150 U.S. universities, organizations conducting binational fellowship programs such as the American-Scandinavian Foundation, the China Foundation, and the American Association of University Women, and student service organizations such as the Committee on Friendly Relations Among Foreign Students, a branch of the YMCA which had provided services to foreign students since 1911, and some foreign governments began to turn to the Institute for advice and facilitative assistance.

By 1924 when Duggan wrote his Fifth Annual Report the Institute was the only national organization in the United States with extensive experience in administering student and faculty exchange programs. It had arrived at basic criteria and procedures for the conduct of exchanges which helped set the pattern for future U.S. activities of this type, including criteria and mechanisms for selection, placement, types of programs, assistance in immigration and problems of orientation and language competence. By 1926 the Institute was administering 148 fellowships. The pioneer role of the Institute, and its contribution toward creating the environment which ultimately resulted in the direct involvement of the U.S. Government in sponsoring educational and cultural exchange programs cannot be overemphasized. Although mainly supported by funds from the Carnegie Corporation and the Laura Spellman Rockefeller Memorial into the late 1920's, the Institute was beginning to receive money from other private sources as well.

The United States was becoming a mecca for foreign students. By 1930 there were almost 10,000 studying in our colleges and universities, twice as many as the number of U.S. students studying abroad. Those from Latin American countries had reached a total of 1,455 by 1930, as compared to 1,015 in 1915.[29] In other words, in 1930 they represented approximately 10 percent of the foreign student population. The carefully selected exchange students coming here on Institute scholarships numbered about 200 a year. During that same period the Institute had circuited over 150 foreign professors and public leaders among U.S. colleges and universities to lecture in their particular fields of work. While its chief method for realizing its objectives was to stimulate and facilitate the exchange of students and professors, it rapidly had become a center of information and advice on all aspects of international educational exchange; it published booklets on the inherent difficulties; it held conferences on long-term problems; and it cooperated directly with agencies in other countries.

On September 12–18, 1928, the Institute held for the first time an orientation program for some 60 students from Europe, during the period between their arrival and the opening of the school term, to enable them to become acquainted with each other and with U.S. academic arrangements and student problems. The program took place at Fredericka House, in Sandy Hook, Connecticut. It set a precedent which was later to be widely recognized as meeting a real need in introducing students from other areas of the world to the U.S. scene. To assist prospective students from Latin American countries, in 1927 the Institute published a 95-page Spanish edition of its *Guide Book for Foreign Students in the United States*, and in 1930 it published in Spanish a 35-page booklet on fellowship opportunities at colleges and universities in the United States for which Latin American students could apply, on the basis of a canvass of the U.S. institutions included in the descriptive listing.

An interesting and unique development on the academic scene during this period was the opening of the University of Miami, Florida, in October 1926, with a registration of 700 students, "founded with the motive of serving as a liaison of intellectual understanding between Latin America and the United States . . .

Through the contribution of $1,000,000 by Mr. Victor Hope, there will be established a College of Citizenship. This will have as one of its main objectives the organization of a Pan American department in which students and professors from Latin-American countries will assemble with North American students and teachers, thus contributing to a better and more sympathetic understanding between these groups."[30] Another event, in Panama, in June of that same year, was the inauguration of a new Universidad Bolivariana at the Instituto Nacional, which highlighted the events commemorating the Pan American Conference held in Panama at the call of Simón Bolívar in 1826.[31]

There was a slight increase in the exchange of professors between the United States and Latin American countries in the 1920's. Beginning in 1919 the IIE sent out a special *Bulletin* to U.S. universities and colleges informing them when foreign educators and distinguished leaders would be available to lecture or teach, but it was not until 1921 that a Latin-American educator was listed. In 1922 these efforts bore fruit in two such cases with the appointments of Dr. Víctor Andrés Belaunde, of the University of San Marcos, Lima, Peru, as lecturer at Williams College, and Dr. José María Gálvez of the University of Chile, as exchange professor at the University of California. The announcement of the appointment of Dr. Gálvez in the *Bulletin* stated that 22 of his Chilean university students had completed their university degree work at U.S. universities, and 16 were at the time instructors of Spanish at U.S. colleges and universities.

Columbia University, taking advantage of its location at the major port of entry in the United States, received the visits of many distinguished educators, statesmen, and men of letters from Latin America and assisted them in making contacts with individuals and groups in their fields of special interest. By the late 1920's lecturers from Latin America, almost exclusively in language and literature, were more frequent visitors and guests of U.S. universities, and several of them were given permanent appointments at institutions where Latin American literature courses were now an established part of the Romance Language Department curriculum.

The number of U.S. exchange students and school teachers going to Latin America was still negligible. It was limited to those attending summer schools, notably the one at the National University of Mexico. The first summer school at the National University was held in 1921. It was planned and organized by the University and held annually thereafter. Its success inspired a number of privately conducted group visits of university students and school teachers to

Mexico beginning in the early 1920's. In the mid-1920's the enrollment of U.S. students was about 300 a year, mostly students and teachers of Spanish language, literature, and history. In 1926 the Rector of the National University of Mexico visited the United States to publicize the summer courses, and also to seek the cooperation of U.S. universities in establishing professor and student exchanges, up to a total of four annually, on a reciprocal basis. The IIE served as the principal agent for publicity and arrangements in the United States.

A few U.S. scholars were sent to Latin America on short lecture visits or to engage in research by the Carnegie Endowment and several other agencies in the 1920's. One of the Carnegie Professors was Dr. David P. Barrows, formerly President and Professor of Political Science at the University of California. He visited several Latin American universities in 1928. Other lecturers were invited and paid for by Latin American host institutions, or engaged in lecturing and research on grants from the Carnegie Institution in Washington or from their own universities. By 1930 the visits of U.S. Hispanic scholars and language teachers to Mexico and Cuba, and vice versa, were becoming quite commonplace. Some of the leading U.S. Latin Americanists and Hispanists had colleagues in these countries with whom they were in close contact, and frequently they exchanged visits as researchers or as guest lecturers. The modest number who went on their own to countries farther to the south were largely in the fields of Latin American literature, history, education, government, anthropology, archeology, and various fields of science. They were few compared to the larger number of French, German, and British teachers and scholars at various universities in the southern republics, some supported in full or in part by their own governments. Others were refugees from various European countries.

The seasonal difference in academic years, the language problem, and academic resources and opportunities in the various Latin American countries limited what could be done on a full academic year basis. The Carnegie Endowment attempted to stimulate an alternative approach by providing the IIE with a $12,500 grant in 1920 to cover the traveling expenses of U.S. professors planning to do research abroad while on sabbatical leave if they would agree to lecture at universities during their sojourn abroad. Although these funds were concentrated on supporting the travel of U.S. professors to Europe, at least one of these travel grants was given to a professor of Latin American literature who lectured at universities in Peru, Chile, and Uruguay in the fall of 1920.[32] All of the advance arrangements were made by the Institute.

The idea of establishing chairs or professorships of Latin American literature and history, as proposed at the Second Pan American Scientific Congress in 1915, was vigorously revived by several Latin Americanists and urged by Dr. Rowe of the Pan American Union during the year preceding the sixth Inter-American Conference in Havana in 1928. He wrote, "This is the psychological time to make an appeal, just before the Havana Conference." The plea, directed to the members of the American Association of Teachers of Spanish, was inspired by an earlier article on the same subject in *Hispania* by Alfred Coester, professor of Latin American literature at Stanford University. Several years later, in 1931, Professor Arturo Torres Rioseco of the University of California wrote:

> "Harvard, Chicago, California, and Texas have special professorships in [Latin American] history; other universities offer courses in Latin American government and some in sociology . . . More recently, thanks to the efforts of Mr. Rowe, director of the Pan American Union, four universities in this country have established separate chairs of Latin American literature: Texas, Leland Stanford, Yale, and California."[33]

It was an era of larger support by the philanthropic foundations for international education. During this decade they allocated over $300,000 to provide scholarships for foreign students. Although modest compared to their nearly $5 million toward the construction and maintenance of colleges in other countries, and about $35 million to further medical education abroad during this same period, for example, it was the type of supplemental support that responded to the demands and opportunities of the postwar period, and multiplied educational exchanges many-fold. As noted earlier, the principal beneficiaries were the wartorn countries across the Atlantic.

President-elect Hoover's visit to Latin America in November-December 1928, referred to earlier, quickened the growing desire in the United States to learn more about Latin America, and gave added impulse to the momentum of privately initiated and supported inter-American cultural relations. His statements were widely hailed in academic circles by those who had been promoting inter-American cultural relations, and received a response from the major U.S. private foundations that had been supporting these efforts since the beginning of the century as well as from some new major donors. They also resulted in renewed private initiatives in the Latin American countries Hoover visited. An environment of greater mutual confidence in pursuing these privately supported activities throughout the hemisphere was buttressed during the period 1929–33 by the U.S. Government's partial retreat from its policy of political intervention in Latin America.

The IIE began a period of expansion in the inter-American field on January 1, 1929, with the establishment of a Latin American Division charged with developing an exchange program with the Latin American countries. The Council on Inter-American Relations, a private organization of business firms with Latin American commercial activities, provided a grant of $8,000 to establish the Division and to award a small number of Latin American fellowships. Up until that time the Institute had only one fellowship at its disposal open to Latin American students. Two years later it had 19 and was engaged in a variety of new inter-American exchange activities. In 1929, for example, it assisted in the organization of a summer school of English in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, which was referred to in the Institute's *News Bulletin* as "a tangible result of Mr. Hoover's plea made at Rio for cultural exchanges between the Latin American republics and the United States." That same year, with funds from the Carnegie Endowment, the Institute cooperated with the Instituto Cultural Argentino-Norteamericano (ICANA) in bringing a group of 22 Argentine educators to the United States for a 6-week visit to educational institutions in Boston, Chicago, Washington, and the New York area. They also visited libraries, museums, industrial plants, and social service organizations.

The Instituto had been established in 1928 by Dr. Cupertino del Campo, the president of the Rotary Club of Buenos Aires. In 1928 it established courses in English teaching, which was to become its major source of income. The statutes of ICANA set forth a comprehensive program that covered succinctly practically every significant type of educational and cultural interchange that could be found in the resolutions relating to such activities passed by the various inter-American conferences, and they were implemented to a remarkable degree in the furtherance of U.S.-Argentine cultural relations. ICANA was to become a model for similar cultural centers later established by local citizens and U.S. residents in other Latin American countries.

To get its new Latin American Division off to a good start, Dr. Duggan sent his son Laurence on a 4-month visit to some of the South American countries in the summer and early fall of 1929, including Panama, Chile, Bolivia, Peru, Argentina, and Brazil. He recommended that the IIE begin by concentrating on interchange of distinguished lecturers in a wide variety of fields for visits of approximately 2 months, visits by groups of educators to the United States, and bringing Latin American graduate students for study in practical fields and normal school teachers for advanced training. He did not recommend full-year professor and teacher exchanges, in view of the lack of a knowledge of English by most Latin American students, the conflicting school terms, and other academic differences. He also recommended against secondary and undergraduate student placement in the United States. With regard to U.S. students, he felt that there were few opportunities and suggested that summer schools should be fostered instead. He said that if the IIE had adequate funds it could develop exchanges with Latin America on the same scale as its exchanges with Europe. Some of these recommendations came to the attention of Secretary of the Interior Wilbur and Secretary of State Stimson, who responded in very favorable terms. The visit enabled the IIE to build up its list of persons and organizations in the Latin American countries on whom it could rely for advice and cooperation in pursuing its programs. The IIE was already using such contacts in several countries as informal screening committees in the selection of fellowship recipients.[34]

The following year the IIE arranged to bring to the United States from Argentina a journalist, a social service administrator, a normal school official, an engineer, a student of agriculture, and a student of business administration. It also received funds to provide partial grants to supplement two fellowships to U.S. advanced students created by the University of Chile in 1930 for study in Chilean normal schools. That same year the Institute assisted in placing at Teachers College, Columbia University, Chilean men and women who had received fellowships from their government. Also, in 1930, the Institute organized a visit of 12 Brazilian scholars who participated in a program similar to that of the 1929 visit by the group of Argentine educators. It arranged itineraries for Latin American scholars and literary figures who wished to lecture in the United States, and facilitated arrangements in Latin America for an increasing number of U.S. professors who lectured at Latin American universities and cultural centers. In the early 1930's it cooperated with a program initiated by U.S. industrial corporations to bring Latin American students to factories and research institutions in the United States to help them gain practical technical and administrative experience.

Meanwhile, inter-American cultural activities were increasing in other sectors. In 1930 the Guggenheim Foundation provided $1 million for the establishment of Latin American exchange fellowships, representing a dramatic boost to these developments by the very impact of the announcement here and in Latin America.[35] There was a beginning of an exchange of artists and art exhibits in the early 1930's. Artists were among the recipients of the Guggenheim fellowships. In 1931 a Pan American exhibition of paintings was held in Baltimore and then sent around to various large cities throughout the United States, arousing much interest. That same year Dr. Enrique Gil, then President of the Argentine-North American Cultural Institute in Buenos Aires, visited the United States with a representative collection of Argentine etchings, lithographs, and dry prints which were shown at the Corcoran Gallery in Washington, D.C., the Roerich Museum in New York, and in other cities. In the field of music, concerts by Latin American artists were held periodically at the Pan American Union.

The traditional professional organizations representing the various disciplines gave increasing attention to the work of their colleagues with Latin American interests at their meetings and in their journals, as the second and third decades of the century advanced, and it was clearly an undercurrent with the strength of continuity and growth. Some associations established special committees to give special attention to Latin American interests, such as the Committee on Library Cooperation with the Hispanic Peoples in the American Library Association. And a number of other groups had sprung up in the 1920's to foster inter-American cultural activities, including the Pan American Society, and student organizations such as the Pan American Leagues established in New York and in Texas, with special programs in local communities and at school programs in conjunction with the activities of Spanish clubs.

In 1931 the Director of the Institute of International Education spent most of half a year visiting all of the countries of South America, except Venezuela, explaining to scholars and school administrators methods for expanding student and professor interchange based on the Institute's successful programs with European countries. He lectured at the principal universities on aspects of U.S. society. He enlisted the volunteer services of scholars in many of the capital cities as representatives of the Institute in nominating and screening candidates for fellowships and in facilitating local arrangements for visiting U.S. scholars and lecturers. He also spoke with publishers and businessmen to enlist their support. He found that the shelves of the bookstores in the Latin American capitals were empty of books from the United States, due almost exclusively to their high cost. In Santiago, Chile, he arranged for the selection of a group of 10 Chilean scholars to visit the United States as guests of the Institute, and in Buenos Aires he assisted the trustees of the ICANA in reorganizing their scholarship program and in finding distinguished U.S. scholars to lecture in Argentina. In Brazil he was asked by the Minister of Education to serve as adviser to a committee of Brazilian scholars in organizing a Teachers College. In Lima, Peru, he was invited to participate in meetings that were being held to organize an American-Peruvian Institute. He wrote, "In every single country I visited I found a tendency to direct students to the United States instead of, as formerly, to Europe, and especially to France . . ." [36] Following up on discussions in Lima, in 1933 with the cooperation of the Peruvian Government and the Pan American Union the Institute arranged a 4-week summer school for advanced U.S. students at San Marcos University. The Grace Steamship Lines provided reduced fares for the travel of the students.

Duggan's visits resulted in letters from the U.S. Ambassadors in Argentina and Uruguay to the Carnegie Endowment and to the Institute in 1932, calling attention to the fact that the United States lagged far behind the French and the British in developing cultural relations programs in these countries and requesting financial support. In replying to the Ambassador in Uruguay, Duggan wrote, alluding to the depression,

> "Of course conditions are worse this year than they were last year and the income of the Endowment has fallen off considerably . . . I cannot say whether I shall be successful." [37]

At that time the Institute was receiving slightly over $100,000 to administer a total of 347 fellowships worldwide, largely with Europe, and to maintain a staff of 25 persons.

Toward the end of the 1920's the amazing development of a new means of closer and more rapid communication between the countries of the hemisphere, air transportation, was to make its own unheralded contribution to the future prospects for the growth of inter-American person-to-person exchange. In the 1930's it provided opportunities far beyond those possible when travel was limited to slow-moving sea and rail travel, fantastically modern as these may have seemed 30 years earlier with their steam-driven engines. The wonders of new and revolutionary channels of closer communication, with greatly increased opportunities for good or ill, never ceased: in the latter part of the 19th century it was the steam engine and electricity; in the 1920's the motion picture and, as the decade closed, the airplane, followed by the radio. By 1929 Pan American-Grace Airways inaugurated direct air flight service to and from New York and Buenos Aires, the hemisphere's southernmost capital.

Notes

CHAPTER II

1. There is extensive literature on this subject. See especially the annotated bibliographies in John F. Bannon, *The Spanish Borderlands Frontier, 1513–1821* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1970).
2. Eugenio Pereira Salas, *Los Primeros Contactos Entre Chile y Los Estados Unidos, 1778–1809* (Santiago, Chile: Editorial Andrés Bello, 1971), chs. I, XII, XVIII, XXIV–XXX.
3. Arthur P. Whitaker, *The United States and the Independence of Latin America, 1800–1830* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Univ. Press, 1941), pp. 2, 5–38, 45, 132–148, 151, 564–565, 607–609; Harry Bernstein, *Origins of Inter-American Interest, 1700–1812* (Philadelphia: 1945), *Making an Inter-American Mind* (Gainesville: Univ. of Florida Press, 1961); and "Some Inter-American Aspects of the Enlightenment," in Arthur P. Whitaker, ed., *Latin America and the Enlightenment* (New York: D. Appleton-Century, 1942), pp. 53–69; Robert J. Shafer, *The Economic Societies in the Spanish World, 1763–1821* (New York: Syracuse Univ. Press, 1958).
4. Fully discussed in Bernstein's studies referred to in note 3 above.
5. William S. Robertson, ed., *The Diary of Francisco de Miranda, Tour of the United States, 1783–1784* (New York: The Hispanic Society of America, 1928), *passim.*

   Harvard became the first university in the United States to appoint a professor of Spanish language and literature to its faculty. George Ticknor was appointed to the post in July 1816. After travel and study in Spain and other European countries, in August 1819 he assumed his duties as Smith Professor of French and Spanish Literature and Belles Lettres. He delivered his first lectures on Spanish literature in the fall of 1820, which included a critique of Spanish and Spanish American historians and literary figures of the colonial period. Ticknor's extensive library on Hispanic literature and history, perhaps the best in the United States at that time, included many books about Latin America.

   O. W. Long, "Thomas Jefferson and George Ticknor—A Chapter in American Scholarship" (Williamstown, Mass.: McClelland Press, 1933); George Ticknor, "Syllabus of Spanish Lectures" (Cambridge: Univ. Press, 1823), pp. 42–43, 51, 62, 71–75; James L. Whitney, *Catalogue of the Spanish Library and of the Portuguese Books Bequeathed by George Ticknor to the Boston Public Library* (Boston: Press of Rockwell and Churchill, 1879).

   In 1751, Garrett Noel, a New York bookseller and Spanish teacher, published a grammar for learners of Spanish entitled *A Short Introduction to the Spanish Language.* Another Spanish grammar was published in Philadelphia in 1798. A college course in Spanish literature was offered in Philadelphia in 1771 under the auspices of the American Philosophical Society. However, the first formal and continuing courses in Spanish language and literature in a U.S. educational institution were those initiated at Harvard (Bernstein, *Origins*, pp. 54, 58, 74; *id.*, *Making an Inter-American Mind*, p. 14).

6. Unless otherwise indicated, the following paragraphs dealing with the period up to the 1820's are based largely on Bernstein and Whitaker, referred to in note 3, above.
7. William S. Robertson, *Hispanic American Relations with the United States* (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1923), p. 35.
8. Eugenio Pereira Salas, "The First Chilean Students in the U.S.A.," *Bulletin of the Pan American Union*, LXIX (Sept. 1935), pp. 712–716; Manuel Pedro González, *Intellectual Relations Between the United States and Spanish America* (Washington, D.C.: Pan American Union, 1938), p. 6.
9. Walter H. Hill, S. J., *Historical Sketch of the St. Louis University* (St. Louis: Patrick Fox, Publisher, 1879), pp. 42, 50, 141; Gilbert J. Garraghan, S. J., *The Jesuits of the Middle United States* (New York: America Press, 1938, 3 vols.), III, p. 216.
10. Garraghan, III, *op. cit.*, pp. 217–218.
11. Robertson, *op. cit.*, pp. 328–347. Hartt brought Brazilian students to Cornell Univ. and trained a generation of U.S. scientists to continue his geological work in Brazil. Branner was one of his students at Cornell. (Bernstein, *Making an Inter-American Mind*, pp. 85, 87.) Branner later became president of Stanford Univ., where he fostered the development of Brazilian studies.
12. *Ibid.*, pp. 285–295; Samuel Guy Inman, "Background and Problems in Intellectual Exchange," pp. 5–6.
13. Bernstein, *Making an Inter-American Mind*, pp. 59–65.
14. Robertson, *op. cit.*, pp. 298–317.
15. Although Spanish history and literature were the primary interest of Ticknor, Prescott, and Irving, they were also attracted to the history of Spain's vast empire in America, which was an inseparable part of the history of Spain. Much of their research was based on collections of original documents already cataloged or published in Spain by Spanish scholars. Prescott's histories of the conquest of Peru and Mexico, and Irving's history of the life and voyages of Columbus, however, remain literary classics that have been read by hundreds of thousands, young and old, over the years. Contemporary Spanish translations were published in Mexico and Chile. There were other pioneer historical writings about Latin America and our Spanish borderlands by U.S. authors from the middle decades of the 19th century, the latter by regional writers, which built an extensive literature beyond all precedent in volume. Howard F. Cline, ed., *Latin American History: Essays on Its Study and Teaching, 1898–1965* (Austin: Univ. of Texas Press, 1967, 2 vols.), I, pp. 19–45; Michael Kraus, *A History of American History* (New York: Farrar and Rinehart, Inc. 1937); González, *op. cit.*, p. 15; José de Onis, *The United States as Seen by Spanish American Writers, 1776–1890* (New York: Hispanic Institute in the United States, 1952); John E. Englekirk, *Bibliografía de Obras Norteamericanas en Traducción Española* (Mexico: Reprint from *Revista Iberoamericana*, 1944).
16. Laura Darby Conger, "The Cuban Educational Association of the United States of America, a Summary of Activities, 1898–1901," Office of Education, Washington, D.C., June 1956; "The Good Neighbor at Harvard University," attachment to *Newsletter for November, 1944*, Division of Cultural Cooperation, Department of State, CU/H.
17. In 1950 the Ministry of Education of Cuba invited two U.S. teachers from the school systems of each of the States and territories of the United States

for "the celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of the Cuban public school system." It was an expression of homage identifying the 1900 visit of Cuban teachers to Harvard with the beginnings of the Cuban public school system. The costs from Miami and return, and in Cuba, were provided by the Cuban Government, each teacher providing the travel in the United States to and from Miami. Sixty-two U.S. teachers participated, 54 of whom were women. Representatives of U.S. educational agencies also participated, along with officers of the U.S. Office of Education which cooperated with the Department of State and the U.S. Embassy in facilitating arrangements for the visit. The 2-week visit, which began in late December 1950, was a notable event in U.S.-Cuban educational relations. The report from the U.S. Embassy stated: "The entry of the teachers into Habana bordered on the triumphal. A throng of at least 500 persons, including the Minister of Education, heads of various university departments, school inspectors, teachers and general public lined the docks awaiting them." During the visit the teachers met with intellectual and educational leaders of the country and visited representative Cuban schools. Desp. 1419 from Amemb, Havana, to Dept. of State, Jan. 8, 1951, copy in CU/H.

18. Robertson, *op. cit.*, pp. 347–364.
19. *Ibid.*, pp. 371–377.
20. Kenneth Holland, "Inter-American Educational Relations," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 235 (Sept. 1944), p. 69.
21. Robertson, *op.* cit., pp. 296–297.
22. Ivan Putman, Jr., "The Foreign Student Adviser and His Institution in International Student Exchange," National Association for Foreign Student Affairs, New York, Oct. 1964, pp. 5–6.
23. Robertson, *op. cit.*, pp. 318–320.
24. Edward C. Seebold, *Foreign Language Offerings and Enrollments in Public Secondary Schools* (Washington, D.C.: Office of Education, 1973), Summary Table, Public High School Enrollments in Foreign Languages . . . 1890–1970; *Hispania*, VIII (Feb. 1925), p. 59.

    In the field of Latin American literature, Alfred Coester's *The Literary History of Spanish America* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1916) was the first such survey to be written by a U.S. scholar. The first general survey of Brazilian literature by a U.S. scholar was published 6 years later, Isaac Goldberg's *Brazilian Literature* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1922).
25. Stephen M. Halpern, *The Institute of International Education: A History*, Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia Univ., 1969 (Ann Arbor, Mich.: Univ. Microfilms, Inc. 1973), p. 137.
26. From that time, the fellowships have been offered nearly every year. By the late 1940's the number of applications had increased to the extent that the AAUW turned to the IIE to screen and publicize the fellowships. By 1956, 30 women "fellows" from 15 Latin American countries studied in the United States. Ruth W. Tryon, *Investment in Creative Scholarships—A History of the Fellowship Program of the American Association of University Women, 1890–1956* (Washington, D.C.: American Association of Univ. Women, 1957), pp. 56, 93–100, 213.
27. *Hispania*, II (Dec. 1919), p. 316; *ibid.*, III (Feb. 1920), pp. 1–4; Samuel F. Bemis, *The Latin American Policy of the United States* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1943), p. 321.

28. Halpern, *op. cit.*, is the best single source for the early history of the IIE. The other references in this chapter to the activities of the Institute on student and faculty exchange, and the statistics on student exchange, are taken from the published reports and bulletins of the Institute. Complete sets of these publications are available in the library of the Institute at its headquarters in New York.
29. "The Exchange of Students and Teachers between the United States and Latin America" (Washington, D.C.: Pan American Union, Aug. 1938), p. 1.
30. *Hispania*, X (Mar. 1927), p. 97.
31. Samuel Guy Inman, *Inter-American Conferences 1826–1954, History and Problems*. Edited by Harold E. Davis. (Washington, D.C.: Univ. Press and Community College Press, 1965), p. 107.
32. *Hispania*, III (Oct. 1920), p. 228.
33. *Ibid.*, X (Mar. 1927), pp. 96–97; X (Oct. 1927), p. 270; XIV (May 1931), p. 220; Graham H. Stuart, *Latin America and the United States* (New York: The Century Co., 1922), pp. 9–39, discusses the continuing lack of public interest in Latin American affairs in the 1920's.
34. IIE/H Microfilm Roll 18, Side 2, 25.
35. James W. Gantenbein, ed., *The Evolution of Our Latin-American Policy, A Documentary Record* (New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1950), pp. 146–147.
36. Halpern, *op. cit.*, p. 142.
37. *Ibid.*, p. 146.

Genesis of the Program

CHAPTER III

Good Neighbor Policy and Cultural Understanding

When Franklin D. Roosevelt became President on March 4, 1933, he inherited a situation in U.S. and world history when the condition of international relations was at the lowest possible ebb. Somewhere, in dangerous waters, was the status of cultural relations with the Latin American countries. It would appear, however, that when intellectual and cultural relations have established a few firm foundations, they have a way of stubbornly persisting, and fortunately this fact was not lost to those who saw the vital need for strengthening our inter-American relationships.

This period saw the rise of the Nazi, Fascist, and Japanese nationalist movements with ambitions of world conquest, aided and abetted by worldwide economic and social tensions and unrest. Especially ominous was the determination of Adolph Hitler to build a new war machine in Germany.

The crises that gripped the entire Western world equally affected the internal and external affairs of nations. In the United States, the prosperity of the 1920's had come to an end with the Wall Street crash in 1929, followed by the world depression that reached its height by 1933, calling for the kind of change in the U.S. administration which Roosevelt proclaimed his election to the Presidency would bring. Within Latin America the depression created economic chaos and greater ill will toward the United States, since the area was so dependent on the U.S. economy. Suspicion and distrust, always lurking in the background, increased, as economic problems could always be rationalized by Latin Americans as the fault of arbitrary policies of their big northern neighbor. The U.S. Government clearly realized that mutual confidence and solidarity in the hemisphere was a first concern in reacting to the war-bent preparations across the seas.

There were several basic U.S. policies that had to be eliminated if the United States really wished to give priority to good faith and mutual confidence instead of the traditionally inherent patronizing

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and legalistically ambivalent approach in its relations with the other American republics. The two most sensitive international issues that rankled in the minds of our southern neighbors were political intervention and economic inequality and exploitation. On March 4, 1933, in his inaugural address, Roosevelt spoke unequivocally of these two major issues as he saw them, in terms which appealed to listeners everywhere in Latin America, "the good neighbor policy" and what he later referred to as "the new deal." His election and his inaugural address were acclaimed in Latin America as a "beautiful episode" in democracy. In his inaugural address he stated:

> "In the field of world policy, I would dedicate this nation to the policy of the good neighbor—the neighbor who resolutely respects himself and, because he does so, respects the rights of others — the neighbor who respects his obligations and respects the sanctity of his agreements in and with a world of neighbors . . ."

On the economic problem he said, "The money changers have fled from their high seats in the temple of our civilization. We may now restore the temple to the ancient truths . . ."[1]

With specific reference to Latin America, a month later President Roosevelt stated in a message to the Pan American Union on Pan American Day:

> "Never before has the significance of the words 'good neighbor' been so manifest in international relations . . . The essential qualities of a true Pan-Americanism must be the same as those which constitute a good neighbor, namely, mutual understanding, and, through such understanding, a sympathetic appreciation of the other's point of view. It is only in this manner that we can hope to build a system of which confidence, friendship, and good-will are the cornerstones . . ."[2]

President Roosevelt, Secretary of State Cordell Hull, and Assistant Secretary of State Sumner Welles hammered on these points in public messages and addresses continuously from the spring of 1933, doing everything in their power to prepare the way for the Inter-American Conference scheduled to meet at Montevideo at the end of the year. In the cultural field, their two principal aides in this effort in the Division of Latin American Affairs in the Department of State were Laurence Duggan and Warren Kelchner. Laurence Duggan, the son of Dr. Stephen Duggan, referred to many times in this study, previously associated with his father at the Institute of International Education (IIE), had joined the Department as a Foreign Service officer in 1930. Kelchner, a student of international relations, who joined the U.S. Foreign Service in 1929, had written an important work on Latin American relations with the League of Nations, and was to become an expert in the diplomacy of international organizations.

In view of the chaotic political and economic conditions in Latin America, the governing board of the Pan American Union on May 4, 1932, had agreed to postpone the seventh Inter-American Conference from December 1932 to December 1933. But it should be noted that at a meeting of the governing board of the Pan American Union on January 4, 1933, in the closing days of the Hoover administration, the U.S. Government was not counting out the meeting scheduled for December of that year, and agreed to place on the agenda an Argentine antiwar draft proposal the real essence of which was clearly the rejection of intervention in any form.[3] This was a far cry from Secretary of State Hughes' defense of the legal right of intervention under special circumstances, at the previous Inter-American Conference in Havana, in 1928, a position which could scarcely have been expected to win the confidence of Latin American Foreign Offices. Despite the inauspicious circumstances, President Roosevelt was determined not to postpone the December conference again, but to face these obstacles head on, and to translate words into actions. Secretary Hull says in his *Memoirs*, ". . . was not the whole concept of conferences at stake, following the failure of the League of Nations in the Far East and the breakdown of the London economic and Geneva disarmament conferences? If the Montevideo Conference failed, the world's faith in the idea of conferences to establish peaceful working relationships among nations would be shattered."[4] The conference was held as scheduled in December 1933.

At Montevideo the U.S. Government signed with the other American republics a historic "Convention on Rights and Duties of States" which clearly and explicitly, in Article 8, stated "No state has the right to intervene in the internal or external affairs of another." And Secretary Hull in an address on international trade set forth the policy which the U.S. Government intended to pursue in tariff reform that struck a responsive chord.[5] The two nagging political issues, intervention and economic domination, were for the time swept away. The subsequent abrogation in 1934 of the interventionist Platt amendment, with regard to Cuba, and new tariff policies, were to give greater credence to the protestations of good neighborliness in hemisphere relations. The resolution of these crucial political and economic issues was the breakthrough that paved the way for the special conference for the maintenance of peace held in Buenos Aires in 1936.

As noted earlier, cultural matters had by now become an established item on the Inter-American Conference agendas. However, they were largely concerned with such matters as improving the exchange of educational data, the preservation of historical monuments, and related Pan American Union responsibilities. The U.S. Government policy of nonfinancial involvement in any of the cultural and educational exchanges which the United States had agreed to encourage remained unchanged. This position was repeated in the report of the U.S. delegation at one of the Montevideo Conference sessions on the resolution recommending a greater interchange of information and ideas and of professors, students, and researchers among the countries of the Americas adopted at the Congress of Rectors in Havana in 1930. The Havana resolution was approved at Montevideo, but the United States was not yet prepared to use Government funds to support its implementation. The report of the U.S. delegation restated the traditional U.S. policy on this matter:

> "The original draft limited the financial support of such interchanges to contributions from governments. Our Delegation, however, called attention to the fundamental difference between the educational system of the United States and those of Latin American countries, in that the former was supported and directed principally by state and municipal authorities, by private individuals and institutions, and the latter, almost entirely by national governments. The resolution therefore provided that the necessary funds shall be obtained by voluntary annual contributions from interested countries, private institutions, or philanthropists."[6]

Another resolution adopted at Montevideo resulted in the establishment of a United States National Committee on Inter-American Intellectual Cooperation, to cooperate with the Pan American Union in promoting "scientific and technical interchange among the American countries for the advancement of the cultural level of the Western Hemisphere." The 18 members designated were representatives of some of the private institutions most active in this field in the United States since the beginning of the century.[7]

In reporting on the Montevideo Conference, Secretary Hull stated in an address before the National Press Club on February 10, 1934:

> "It is my unqualified opinion that the achievements of this recent Conference of American Nations were such as to mark the beginning of a new era—a new epoch—in this hemisphere, and that at the same time the Conference set a wise example of initiative with a genuinely constructive program to the disorganized and low-spirited forces of peace, economic and social order in the nations beyond the seas . . . The delegates keenly realized that a crisis had been thrust upon the New World and that

it was absolutely incumbent upon the Conference to sound a new note, to broadcast a new spirit, and to proclaim a new day in the political, economic, peace, and cultural affairs of this hemisphere."[8]

The groups in the private sector in the United States which had been the prime movers in fostering inter-American cultural relations saw the opportunity for renewed efforts and new directions. One of the founders of the American Association of Teachers of Spanish, Lawrence A. Wilkins, writing in the Association's journal, expressed the view that a new era had begun as a result of the Montevideo Conference, the Good Neighbor Policy, and the rapid growth of airway communications. He stated that there was "a decidedly marked awakening of the citizens of our country to the present and future importance of the other nations of the hemisphere," and added, "Our great trouble has been in the past that Pan Americanism has been based far too much on political policies and on commercial profits . . . I therefore advocate as the new approach to Pan Americanism, or as the new Pan Americanism, the cultural approach."[9] Stephen Duggan wrote to Secretary Hull congratulating him for the results of the Montevideo Conference and received a friendly reply commending the IIE for its work.[10]

Between 1933 and 1935, the IIE activated a number of new exchange-of-persons programs with the Latin American countries. In 1933 the Council on Inter-American Relations subscribed an additional $4,000 for the Latin American work of the Institute, following up on its support of previous years. In the 5 years prior to 1935 the Council had provided $28,500 to the Institute which through partial grants made possible the awarding of 71 fellowships to Latin American students, the total cash value for which was estimated at approximately $60,000. The Carnegie Endowment continued its financial support. In 1934 the Munson Steamship Lines provided funds for the "Munson Prize" fellowships for Argentine students of English, in cooperation with the Argentine-North American Cultural Institute in Buenos Aires. The IIE spearheaded the formation of a consortium of shipping lines which provided funds and reduced travel rates for students from several Latin American countries with which the lines operated. With a grant of $3,600 from the Carnegie Endowment, arrangements were made in 1934 for a visit of six Chilean university educators who arrived in February of the following year, including the rector of the National University, Juvenal Hernández, and the director of exchange activities at the university, Amanda Labarca. The Institute made all of the necessary arrangements for these visits and those of a number of other visiting Latin American scholars and leaders.[11]

The crisis in Europe contributed to the increased focus on Latin America as opportunities for student exchanges with Europe declined, along with the overall decrease in available U.S. university scholarships, overcrowding, and restrictions on the number of foreign students universities could accommodate. In Germany and Italy restrictions on academic freedom were creating new problems for U.S. students studying at universities in these countries. Still the IIE had not given up hope after years of educational exchange effort with Europe, and favored keeping open all possible channels of communication wherever it was still possible. Stephen Duggan wrote:

> "Despite my belief that dictatorship everywhere means to me terrorism, I am nevertheless of the opinion that to continue intercourse with the peoples of the dictatorship countries is the only way in which their extreme position can possibly be modified." [12]

The initiative from private foundations, business concerns, and universities helped keep afloat exchange activities with Latin America that were being sorely hit in the early and mid-1930's by the unpredictable ebb and flow of financial resources for this purpose during the depression years. For example, whereas the academic year 1930–31 showed 1,455 registrations of Latin American students in U.S. universities, in the depression years 1934–35 the number dropped to 708.[13] The Department of State, in consultation with educational leaders in the private sector, began to face up to the challenge of exploring new ways to introduce a stronger U.S. Government role in support of the manifestations of inter-American good will which many people generally believed to be genuine both in the United States and in the Latin American countries. But the Department was not yet ready to consider the unprecedented step of seeking funds from Congress to speed up the momentum.

In an address at the annual convention of the Association of American Colleges at Atlanta in January of 1935, Assistant Secretary Welles urged the colleges and universities to be prime movers in making the policy of the "good neighbor" a reality.[14] He said that they were "not only the best equipped but the most strategically situated for carrying on the slow, patient work of building a wider cultural understanding." He recounted the important steps already taken in introducing courses in Latin American history and literature, and in Spanish language teaching, and urged more courses in literature and sociology. He noted that more than two million students in U.S. high schools and colleges were studying Spanish, but urged more study of Spanish American literature and society. He said

"Next to personal contact, the method by which one people learns to know and understand another is by reading its literature." He pointed out that "several colleges and universities have invited Latin American professors to give courses," and "It would be ideal, of course, if every American student could visit Latin America." He noted that many universities had foreign student advisers who assisted in the orientation and language problems of foreign students, but stated that more full-time foreign student advisers were needed. "It is impossible," he said, "for any foreign student to get a complete idea of American life without the opportunity of visiting an American home." He urged that much more needed to be done in all these areas. He paid special tribute to the Institute of International Education and the Pan American Union for their significant contributions in this work. He summarized his remarks by saying,

> "The comments have been prompted solely by my interest in the improvement of cultural relations, which seems to me but another aspect of the policy of the 'good neighbor,' a policy that seeks political relations free of suspicion or misunderstanding, economic relations conducive to a healthy international trade, and cultural relations leading to a wider appreciation of the culture and civilization of other peoples."

He repeated this plea in a nationwide radio address on March 14, 1935.[15] In referring to the barriers to inter-American understanding he said:

> "I am convinced of the necessity for interchange of students and professors between the American republics if we are to have anything approaching a real inter-American relationship. The creation of scholarships in our universities for the students of the Latin American countries, exchange professorships, the visits of . . . educational delegations . . . can do more to promote real understanding between our respective peoples than almost any other one factor."

He noted that some universities were already doing this, and others planned to "when financial conditions permit."

A number of universities, colleges, and schools responded to the State Department's urging. Other responses were made by private organizations. For example, the Ohio Federation of Women's Clubs announced a fellowship for a student from Argentina, to be selected by the Argentine-North American Cultural Institute in Buenos Aires. Numerous Latin American "round tables" and "institutes" were active in schools and universities, and in a number of cities under the sponsorship of civic groups. Both Secretary Hull and Assistant Secretary Welles especially commended the IIE for arranging the visit to the United States early in 1935 by a group of six distinguished Chilean university educators, headed by the Rector of the University of Chile, as noted earlier.[16] Special importance was attached to the visit because of that university's pioneer role in the development of faculty and student exchanges with the United States.

At about this time Welles wrote to Nicholas Murray Butler of the Carnegie Endowment in pursuit of ways to find a larger number of fellowships for Latin American students. Butler expressed friendly interest, but indicated that there was need for formulating a more effective means of selecting adequately prepared students. Welles then wrote to Stephen Duggan, Leo S. Rowe, and probably to several others for suggestions. He wrote that if adequate funds were forthcoming from private sources, the Department of State "would ask colleges for tuition fellowships." This, indeed, was a new departure on the part of the Department. However, Welles apparently realized that the U.S. Government should not attempt to initiate such a program at this time, and wanted the IIE and the Pan American Union to take the lead. Laurence Duggan picked up the idea enthusiastically, and in a letter of April 26, 1935, passed this on to his father, Stephen Duggan. An exchange of correspondence between Welles, Stephen Duggan, and Rowe ensued on how best to establish improved Selection Committees for awarding fellowships to Latin American students.[17]

On April 26, 1935, Dr. Rowe wrote a memorandum to Secretary Welles in which he stated, "The Pan American Union has been endeavoring for many years to secure an interchange of scholarships between the United States and the Republics of Latin America." He stated that although universities had been generous, in most cases stipends were insufficient. He said that he had submitted a plan to the Carnegie Endowment "a number of years ago" for graduate student fellowships for Latin Americans, but had been turned down on the grounds that the selection and screening machinery to secure the best candidates was too much of a problem. He proposed a plan to form local committees, carefully selected with advice by U.S. agencies, to recommend candidates for review and placement by the Carnegie Endowment or the IIE.[18]

Early in May, Stephen Duggan and Rowe were invited by Assistant Secretary Welles to his office to discuss the scholarship proposal. Laurence Duggan, in the Department, wrote to his father, ("Dear Dad"), recommending against U.S. Government officials and missionaries as members of Selection Committees abroad, to avoid misunderstanding of motives, breaks in continuity of committee membership, and suspicion that they might be instrumentalities of propaganda. The motives of the "cultural" activities of Germany and Italy were already clearly evident to any close observer. In a letter to Rowe of May 15, Stephen Duggan recommended that the inclusion of U.S. Government officials on Selection Committees would not be desirable. A week later Rowe suggested some names to Duggan, indicating that he had submitted a similar list to Welles. The discussions went beyond that of selection committees. As Stephen Duggan wrote later in the year, "Sumner Welles, Leo Rowe and I drew up a plan for student exchanges last spring but nothing has happened.[19]

Stephen Duggan pursued the idea aggressively and, following up on an exchange of correspondence with Welles, in the fall of 1935 he submitted to the Carnegie Endowment and subsequently to the Carnegie Corporation, an eight-point proposal. He estimated that $50,000 a year for a short period could get the program underway. It was a broad exchange-of-persons proposal, incorporating all the major types of activity which by experience over the years he conceived as being the important things that needed more attention. These he listed as:

1. Sending top visiting scholars from the United States who on their return would be able to recommend plans for the future.
2. Inviting distinguished scholars from Latin America to U.S. universities to discuss developments in Latin America in their fields of interest.
3. Sending U.S. educators to consult with colleges on educational matters of mutual interest.
4. Granting fellowships to advanced Latin American students in fields where the United States was best qualified to help.
5. Granting a few fellowships to U.S. graduate students in Latin American studies.
6. Presenting books on U.S. life and thought to universities and public libraries in Latin America.
7. Translating into English the finest Latin American works for an understanding of life and culture, and distributing them to U.S. university departments engaged in Latin American studies.
8. Exchanging small collections of art.[20]

Welles wrote to Duggan that he was "heartily in accord" with his exchange proposal, and that President Roosevelt was willing to have him discuss the plan with Butler. But despite these efforts, the Carnegie Endowment was unwilling to fund any new Latin American projects. Butler's position was that the problems of peace would be decided in Europe, not Latin America, and therefore he should spend the Endowment's money in Europe. It is important to note, however, that these cultural relations proposals were being discussed with the President, and that he, as Welles wrote in a letter to Stephen Duggan, "was deeply interested in the matter and believed that the plans which we had under consideration would be of the greatest possible practical value in improving our relations in general with Latin America."[21]

Among the papers circulated by Stephen Duggan within the small group discussing these proposals, he included a remarkable document entitled "Activities which should be undertaken in Latin America," dated October 28, 1935, which he himself prepared, describing the accomplishments of the IIE in promoting cultural relations with the Latin American countries to date, and why more needed to be done. It elaborated on the need for more grants to bring students from Latin America, more interchange of professors and lecturers, more exchanges of groups of educators, supporting summer schools in Latin America for U.S. students and teachers, exchanging books and magazines, and providing opportunities for an appreciation of the art and music of Latin America in the United States and vice versa. When the Department officially launched a cultural relations program it followed the lines of Duggan's proposals almost to the letter.[22]

In describing the U.S. Government role in international cultural affairs up to that time, Samuel F. Bemis, Professor of Diplomatic History at Yale, a visiting lecturer in several Latin American countries, later wrote on the basis of his own experiences:

> "Visiting professors who went out had to depend on the good will and welcome that they might merit, or receive, in the connections which they themselves established without official assistance. They might be introduced to a Latin American audience by the Rector of the University, or by the janitor! The State Department shrank from imparting to the Good Neighbor Policy the imputation of cultural propaganda, even for the innocent purpose of actively assisting cultural exchange by private educational endowments."

He added, "An occasional ambassador of the United States, however, would go out of his way without instructions to ease the way for these unofficial emissaries of good will."[23]

Notes

CHAPTER III

1. Samuel I. Rosenman, ed., *The Public Papers and Addresses of Franklin D. Roosevelt* (New York: Random House, 13 vols., 1938–1945), II, pp. 12–14.

2. James W. Gantenbein, ed., *The Evolution of Our Latin-American Policy, A Documentary Record* (New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1950), p. 160.
3. Alexander DeConde, *Herbert Hoover's Latin American Policy* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford Univ. Press, 1951), pp. 60, 91.
4. *The Memoirs of Cordell Hull* (New York: Macmillan Co., 2 vols., 1948), I, p. 330.
5. *Report of the Delegates of the United States of America to the Seventh International Conference of American States. Montevideo, Uruguay, December 3–26, 1933* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1934), apps. 8 and 21.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 41.
7. *American Delegations to International Conferences, Congresses, and Expositions and American Representation on International Institutions and Commissions . . .* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1942), pp. 44–45. In addition to the Commissioner of the U.S. Office of Education, John W. Studebaker, the only Government representative, the group included W. Frank Aydelotte, Director of the Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton Univ.; Albert C. Barrows, Executive Secretary of the National Research Council; Isaiah Bowman, President of Johns Hopkins Univ.; Stephen Duggan, Director of the IIE; John C. Merriam, President Emeritus of the Carnegie Institution of Washington; James Brown Scott, Secretary Emeritus of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace; Robert G. Sproul, President of the Univ. of Calif.; Carlton J. H. Hayes, Professor of History, Columbia Univ.; John J. Tigert, President of the Univ. of Fla.; Rev. Edmund A. Walsh, Vice President of Georgetown Univ.; and Harvey Y. Benedict, former President of the Univ. of Tex. The following year James A. Shotwell of the Carnegie Endowment was named chairman of the Committee.
8. Cordell Hull, "Some of the Results of the Montevideo Conference" (Washington, D.C.: Dept. of State, Conference Series No. 18, U.S. Government Printing Office, 1934), pp. 3, 4.
9. Lawrence A. Wilkins, "A New Approach to Pan Americanism," *Hispania*, XVIII (May 1935), p. 129.
10. IIE/H, Microfilm Roll 4, Index No. 28 (1934).
11. *Ibid.*, Microfilm Roll 4, Side 1, Index No. 9 (1933), and Roll 11, Side 2, Index Nos. 2, 25, 26, 28 (1934–1935).
12. Letter, Stephen P. Duggan to Dr. J. L. Magues, the Hebrew Univ., Jerusalem, Feb. 25, 1935, IIE/H.
13. "The Exchange of Students and Teachers Between The United States and Latin America" (Washington, D.C.: Pan American Union, Aug. 1938), p. 1.
14. Sumner Welles, "The Roosevelt Administration and Its Dealings with the Republics of the Western Hemisphere" (Washington, D.C.: Dept. of State, Latin American Series No. 9, U.S. Government Printing Office, 1935), pp. 10–16.
15. *Id.*, "Pan American Cooperation" (Washington, D.C.: Dept. of State, Latin American Series No. 10, U.S. Government Printing Office, 1935), p. 7.
16. IIE/H, Microfilm Roll 11, Side 2, Index Nos. 25, 26.
17. *Ibid.*, Roll 11, Side 2, Index No. 26.
18. *Ibid.*
19. *Ibid.*, letter, Stephen P. Duggan to Frederick P. Keppel, Carnegie Corp., Nov. 1, 1935.
20. *Ibid.*, Microfilm Roll 11, Side 2, Index No. 7.

21. *Ibid.*, letter, Stephen P. Duggan to Sumner Welles, Nov. 20, 1935, and reply, Welles to Duggan, Nov. 22, 1935.
22. Copy in IIE/H.
23. Samuel F. Bemis, *The Latin American Policy of the United States* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1943), pp. 332-333.

CHAPTER IV

Buenos Aires Convention of 1936

MEANWHILE, EVENTS developing rapidly across the Atlantic and the Pacific called for bold new decisions in our relations with Latin America. As early as the summer of 1935 President Roosevelt believed that a second world war was looming, and with the only remaining war in Latin America, the Chaco War between Bolivia and Paraguay, coming to an end, a cooperative effort to meet the "threat to the hemisphere" was now the first consideration in his mind. By 1936 the drive of the Axis Powers to penetrate and dominate political, economic, social and intellectual life in Latin America under various guises made it clear that the provision for peace machinery and measures of common defense to face that threat could wait no longer. The time was opportune, for the Good Neighbor Policy had brought about a new spirit of confidence in U.S. motives and actions since the Montevideo Conference in 1933.

The Department of State devised a two-pronged plan for a special inter-American conference to be convened as soon as possible, not waiting for the next regular conference scheduled to be held in Lima in 1938. The United States would propose at the conference "machinery for the settlement of international disputes" that would assure "the will to use" this peace machinery whenever the occasion should arise. It was believed that such a will would require the stimulus of "a public opinion which would favor and support a rule of peace," and "one of the most practical means of developing in the American Republics" this peace-oriented public opinion was the promotion of closer cultural relations, by promoting the upbuilding of inter-American friendships through much better cultural understanding and exchange visits.[1]

President Roosevelt's soundings for the special conference produced a favorable response, and on January 30, 1936, he sent letters to the Presidents of the 20 Latin-American countries proposing the holding of the meeting in Buenos Aires. The purpose of the conference, he said, would be to "determine how the maintenance of peace among the American Republics may best be safeguarded . . ."[2] At first it was hoped that the meeting could be held during the summer of 1936 but the agenda required careful preparation which meant

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long and frequent exchanges of views among the 21 governments. The conference was held in Buenos Aires from December 1 to December 23, 1936.

On April 2, 1936, Secretary Hull informed Ambassador Hugh S. Gibson in Rio de Janeiro in a telegram that "suggestions relative to cultural questions" would be on the conference agenda.[3] This was the first known mention of the U.S. decision to include this subject on the agenda. Two weeks later Assistant Secretary Welles revealed the Department of State's new cultural approach in a public address. He said:

> "It may . . . be that the American nations would deem it wise to undertake the consideration of those practical steps which can be taken to draw them closer one to the other, both through physical means of communication and spiritually, through the cultural approach . . . but if this improvement in physical means of communication is not paralleled by an improvement in our spiritual understanding of one another, the results will be disappointing."

Then he went on to say, "Could there be anything more conducive to a removal of the causes for controversy between us than an enhanced knowledge of our respective cultures and, more than all else, than the devising of some method whereby the youth of all of the American republics may be enabled to know one another, to know each other's problems, and than the creation of some means whereby there might be a continuing interchange among the teachers and the students of our several countries?"[4] On May 2 Secretary Hull informed the members of the conference agenda subcommittee that the United States would like to submit as one of its proposals the "Facilitation by Government Action of the Exchange of Teachers and Students between the American Republics."[5]

From early April until mid-June 1936 Assistant Secretary Welles and Laurence Duggan were in communication with Dr. Duggan and Dr. Rowe, on whom they relied for advice in drafting the proposed Treaty for the Exchange of Students. The refinement of the proposed terms of the Treaty was developed in close consultation with the Department's legal office, but the basic criteria and selection procedures set forth in the terms of the treaty as finally formulated were the work largely of Laurence Duggan, with advice from Dr. Duggan and Dr. Rowe. Among the three there was agreement that the exchanges should include only recent university graduates and teachers, and should not include undergraduates as originally contemplated. The rationale was that persons already into their careers would return to his or her country ready to contribute to its advancement and would "become the best interpreters of the ideals and civilization of the United States." All agreed that each government should nominate a panel of five candidates for the two to be selected by the receiving country. This would avoid politics entering into the selection, which could be a problem if the total number of candidates nominated and those selected was the same, without any choice possible for the receiving government. The original draft also included a clause that exchange students under the proposed treaty "need not be citizens of the country nominating them." Laurence Duggan disagreed with this statement, commenting that "There is no country in the world that contains so much knowledge within its borders that it cannot profit by the study abroad of its students." Specific regulations concerning placement and the like considered too restrictive were eliminated to provide some flexibility in administering the program. A revised draft, ready by mid-June, was considered to be largely in final form.[6]

After working out the wording of the proposed treaty in the Department, it was decided to obtain the views of Dr. John W. Studebaker, the U.S. Commissioner of Education. Laurence Duggan took a copy of the draft treaty to Dr. Studebaker's office in June, and the latter added no significant suggestions. In a reply to Welles he stated: "The general idea of the exchange of students on the basis of Government fellowships is sound and I hope the plan may be consummated." He then added,

> "Since education in this country is maintained on a State rather than a Federal basis, a problem will arise as to the method of selecting students from the country as a whole. I believe, however, that the issue can be met satisfactorily. The project will involve some Federal expense for administration as well as a Federal fund for the support of these foreign fellowships. I assume that if such a treaty is consummated the U.S. Office of Education would become the Government agency to handle the many technical problems which will inevitably be involved in dealing with students, colleges or universities, and accrediting agencies."

On August 11, after checking with the Office of Education for its final concurrence, the proposed Treaty for the Exchange of Students was approved by President Roosevelt. The reference in the title to only one category of exchange, students, really covered both students and teachers, with advanced university study as the purpose of the exchanges.[7]

En route to Buenos Aires by ship, the U.S. delegates revised the language to include the exchange of professors as well, and renamed the document the "Convention for the Promotion of Cultural Relations." At some point on the voyage someone in the group must have reminded the delegates that practically every inter-American discussion on the subject since 1910 emphasized the importance of the exchange of students, teachers, and professors, always in the same breath. The only person aboard the ship who had all of this information tucked away in his head as an inveterate inter-American conference observer for decades was Samuel Guy Inman, who was an official adviser on cultural relations to the delegation. Perhaps it was he who sparked the revision in the language, for in a later work he states that while the delegation was en route to Buenos Aires he "was appointed secretary of a committee to redraft the treaty on cultural matters which proposed an inter-government agreement to send two professors and two students to each of the other republics." On another occasion Inman refers to the same point as follows:

> "During meetings aboard ship on the trip south . . . the Department presented to its delegation a proposed treaty providing for the exchange of students, under which each of the signatory American nations would agree to receive at its own expense two students from other cooperating nations. This proposal was later enlarged by the delegation to include the exchange of professors. Students and professors were to be selected by the receiving government from a list of available persons submitted by the sending government."[8]

The Convention for the Promotion of Inter-American Cultural Relations, introduced by the U.S. delegation, was unanimously approved by the Conference on December 23, 1936. The preamble to the Convention stated:

> "Considering that the purpose for which the Conference was called would be advanced by greater mutual knowledge and understanding of the people and institutions of the countries represented and a more consistent educational solidarity on the American continent; and that such results would be appreciably promoted by an exchange of professors, teachers, and students among the American countries, as well as by encouragement of a closer relationship between unofficial organizations which exert an influence on the formation of public opinion . . . the Governments represented . . . have resolved to conclude a convention for that purpose . . ."[9]

The terms of the agreement followed closely the original U.S. draft. In the case of students and teachers the Convention stated:

> "ARTICLE I.—Every year each Government shall award to each of two graduate students or teachers of each other coun-

try selected in accordance with the procedure established in Article II hereof, a fellowship for the ensuing scholastic year. The awards shall be made after an exchange between the two Governments concerned of the panels referred to in Article II hereof. Each fellowship shall provide tuition and subsidiary expenses and maintenance at an institution of higher learning to be designated by the country awarding the fellowship, through such agency as may seem to it appropriate, in cooperation with the recipient so far as may be practicable. Traveling expenses to and from the designated institution and other incidental expenses shall be met by the recipient or the nominating Government. Furthermore, each Government agrees to encourage, by appropriate means, the interchange of students and teachers of institutions within its territory and those of the other contracting countries, during the usual vacation periods.

"ARTICLE II.—Each Government shall have the privilege of nominating and presenting to each other Government on or before the date fixed at the close of this article a panel of the names of five graduate students or teachers together with such information concerning them as the Government awarding the fellowship shall deem necessary, from which panel the latter Government shall select the names of two persons. The same students shall not be nominated for more than two successive years; and, except under unusual circumstances, for more than one year. There shall be no obligation for any country to give consideration to the panel of any other country not nominated and presented on or before the date fixed at the close of this article, and fellowships for which no panel of names is presented on or before the date specified may be awarded to applicants nominated on the panels of any other country but not receiving fellowships. Unless otherwise agreed upon between the countries concerned, the following dates shall prevail: Countries of South America, November 30th; all other countries, March 31st.

"ARTICLE III.—If for any reason it becomes necessary that a student be repatriated the Government awarding the fellowship may effect the repatriation, at the expense of the nominating Government."

In the case of professors the following procedures were agreed to:

"ARTICLE IV.—Each High Contracting Party shall communicate to each of the other High Contracting Parties through diplomatic channels, on the first of January of every alternate year, a complete list of the full professors available for exchange service from the outstanding universities, scientific institutions and technical schools of each country. From this list each one of the other High Contracting Parties shall arrange to select a visiting professor who shall either give lectures in various centers, or conduct regular courses of instruction, or pursue special research in some designated institution and who shall in other appropriate ways promote better understanding between

> the parties cooperating, it being understood, however, that preference shall be given to teaching rather than to research work. The sending Government shall provide the expenses for travel to and from the capital where the exchange professor resides and the maintenance and local travel expenses while carrying out the duties for which the professor was selected. Salaries of the professors shall be paid by the sending country."[10]

In addition to the Convention for the Promotion of Inter-American Cultural Relations, the Commission on Intellectual Cooperation of the Conference presented to the plenary session 5 treaties and 25 resolutions dealing with cultural relations, by far the largest number of any commission. The three other conventions on which the U.S. delegation voted affirmatively were for treaties on the exchange of publications, the holding of art exhibits, and educational films. The resolutions favored revision of textbooks, the use of radio broadcasting in the service of peace, reading rooms, bibliographical exchanges, suggestions to the American press, protection of intellectual property, conferences of educators, and cooperation of private organizations.[11] Two basic concepts characterized all of these cultural agreements: mutual understanding through a better knowledge and appreciation of each other's views and aspirations, and the formation of a public opinion throughout the hemisphere that could provide the achievable will for peace and mutual understanding. Both purposes are clearly expressed in the Convention for the Promotion of Cultural Relations.

The clear recognition of the fundamental role of nonofficial groups in accomplishing these goals is elaborated on in the resolution approved concerning "Cooperation of Private Organizations in the Work of Peace." It states:

> "In the conviction that it would be possible to give much greater significance to the most important tasks promoting good understanding and cultural relations between the members of the family of American nations if the groups which form public opinion, such as labor organizations, youth societies, women's clubs, peace societies, and social service organizations, would accept seriously their responsibility in this respect . . . The Governments of the American Republics, by the means and in the manner believed most convenient, shall seek to promote the cooperation of such groups and of other appropriate organizations, in matters concerning inter-American friendship."[12]

The unofficial side of the Conference was important. The many meetings outside official halls, in the university, in various scientific, literary, and business circles, and especially in the private homes of hospitable Argentine citizens, provided opportunity for friendly person-to-person contacts.

In summarizing the results of the Conference Secretary Hull and Assistant Secretary Welles listed as the three major accomplishments the treaties for the maintenance of peace and related matters, for more liberal trade policy, and for the promotion of inter-American cultural relations. With regard to the cultural Convention Welles said, in an address before the People's Mandate to Governments to End War, in New York, on February 4, 1937:

> "I cannot emphasize too strongly my belief that such cultural interchange, through government assistance, between the American republics will contribute enormously to better understanding, to a better appreciation of the methods of government and of the habits of thought and modes of life in each of our respective countries, and will assist greatly in preventing that misconception and needless misunderstanding which has, unfortunately, so often prejudiced inter-American relations in the past."[13]

In an address before the Council of Foreign Relations, in New York on February 25, 1937, Secretary Hull echoed these same expectations.[14]

In proposing and signing this agreement it was the first time that a means of developing cultural relations with other countries had been incorporated into the formal policy of the U.S. Government. Indicative of the importance that the United States attached to cultural exchange as a new ingredient in its relations with Latin America was the speed in which it ratified the cultural Convention. On May 17, 1937, just 4½ months later, Secretary Hull requested President Roosevelt to seek Senate approval of the Convention, and on May 26 the President strongly recommended that the Senate do so. To be "among the first to ratify . . ." he emphasized, would be "particularly fitting," since the original initiative for the Conference came from the United States. Speedy action, he said, would be "a further indication of the sincerity of the good neighbor policy."[15] The Senate took prompt action, and on July 15 the President ratified the Convention and it was proclaimed on September 16, 1937.[16]

The next step was to implement the official commitment through an appropriate administrative arrangement in accordance with article V of the cultural Convention which states,

> "The High Contracting Parties agree that each Government shall designate or create an appropriate agency or appoint a special officer, charged with the responsibility of carrying out in the most efficient way possible the obligations assumed by such Government in this Convention."[17]

Even though the Convention was never fully implemented by all of the American republics, it presented the prospect of a greatly expanded effort in inter-American educational interchange. The

Department of State worked hard to get the program underway, but more than 2 years were to pass before the first grants were awarded under the terms of the Convention.

During these years following the Buenos Aires Conference, the private sector kept the spark of exchange activity alive. The IIE continued its role with foundation support in arranging fellowships for Latin American students with the cooperation of the universities, facilitating a few professor exchanges, and helping in the arrangements for summer schools for U.S. students and teachers in several Latin American countries including Mexico, Argentina, Chile, Ecuador, and Guatemala.

Notes

CHAPTER IV

1. *Report of the Delegation of the United States of America to the Inter-American Conference for the Maintenance of Peace, Buenos Aires, Argentina, December 1–23, 1936* [hereinafter cited as *Report of the Delegation*] (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1937), p. 34.
2. *The Memoirs of Cordell Hull* (New York: Macmillan Co., 2 vols., 1948), I, pp. 493–494.
3. *Foreign Relations of the United States, 1936, vol. V, The American Republics* [hereinafter cited as *Foreign Relations*] (U.S. Government Printing Office, 1954), p. 13.
4. Sumner Welles, "The Way to Peace on the American Continent," address before the Maryland Federation of Women's Clubs, Baltimore, Apr. 15, 1936 (Washington, D.C.: Dept. of State, Latin American Series No. 13, 1936), pp. 8–9.
5. *Foreign Relations, op. cit.*, pp. 16–17.
6. NA, RG 43, Box 662, Folder VI.
7. *Ibid.;* also discussed in Murray Lawson, *The United States Information Agency: A History, Origins, 1933–1945*, vol. I, U.S. Information Agency, Washington, D.C., 1970. Unfinished manuscript, vol. 1, ch. 2, pp. 9, 91. Copy in CU/H.
8. Samuel Guy Inman, *Inter-American Conferences 1826–1954, History and Problems.* Edited by Harold E. Davis (Washington, D.C.: Univ. Press and Community College Press, 1965), p. 163; *id.*, "Building an Inter-American Neighborhood," *World Affairs Book No. 20*, National Peace Conference, New York, 1937, p. 49; Lawson, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, ch. 2, pp. 90–91.
9. *Report of the Delegation, op. cit.*, p. 167.
10. *Ibid.*, pp. 170–171.
11. *Ibid., passim.*
12. *Ibid.*, p. 248.
13. Sumner Welles, "The Accomplishments of the Inter-American Conference for the Maintenance of Peace" (Washington, D.C.: Dept. of State, Conference Series No. 26, 1937), p. 13.

14. Cordell Hull, "The Results and Significance of the Buenos Aires Conference" (Washington, D.C.: Dept. of State, Conference Series, No. 27, 1937), p. 9.
15. Lawson, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, ch. 2, pp. 10–11.
16. *Ibid.*, vol. 1, ch. 2, p. 11.
17. *Report of the Delegation*, *op. cit.*, p. 171.

CHAPTER V

Establishment of the Division of Cultural Relations

DURING THE 8-MONTH PERIOD between the signing of the Cultural Convention at Buenos Aires and the President's signature on September 16, 1937, following congressional ratification, Axis propaganda continued to build up throughout the hemisphere, and its receptivity throughout the area correlated closely with Hitler's impressive successes in Europe. By this time it was quite apparent to U.S. diplomats in Latin America that Nazi influence was strong among Germans in the area, especially in various regions of Argentina, Chile, Brazil, and Paraguay where, since the mid-19th century, large numbers of German immigrants had made their homes.

With the Buenos Aires Convention officially ratified, the Department of State turned its attention to the task of requesting a modest appropriation from Congress, and creating the machinery to carry out the program. The Department officials who assumed the leadership in this initial work were Sumner Welles, now Under Secretary, Laurence Duggan, Chief of the Division of American Republics, and Warren Kelchner, an experienced Foreign Service officer who had attended both the Montevideo and Buenos Aires Conferences and was a logical choice to assist in these matters.

When the Convention was first being drafted in the Department in the summer of 1936, and again in the summer of 1937, in informal discussions between Welles and the U.S. Commissioner of Education John W. Studebaker, Welles was led to assume that the Office of Education would be the appropriate office in the Government to handle the operational aspects of exchange of teachers and students with the Latin American countries. It came as somewhat of a surprise, however, when in the fall of 1937, without any prior discussion, Studebaker telephoned the Department that the Office of Education, then in the Department of the Interior, had put in a request to the Bureau of the Budget for $16,000 for the 1938 fiscal year to cover the salaries and expenses of the office he was organizing to carry out the provisions of the Buenos Aires Convention, and would appreciate assurance of Department of State concurrence. When Department officials put their heads together it was agreed that since an obligation under an international convention was involved the Department should request any necessary funds for such purposes. Kelchner was then asked to develop a workable plan for discussion with Studebaker. At this time, steps were initiated to recruit a new officer for the Division of American Republics to dedicate full time to these and other pressing activities in connection with the Buenos Aires Convention.[1]

The proposal drawn up by Kelchner in late December recommended the establishment of a Bureau of Inter-American Cultural Relations with headquarters in the Office of Education, but directly responsible to the Secretary of State. The Bureau would be under the supervision of a small Directive Council, including the Commissioner of Education. The Director of the Bureau would be appointed by the President and would serve as Executive Secretary of the Directive Council. A general advisory committee, selected from the well-known leaders in international cultural relations, would serve as a liaison between the Bureau and the educational institutions throughout the country. Samuel Guy Inman was being considered to head this proposed Bureau, with the initial task "limited to setting up the machinery necessary to administer the Convention . . ." The Department was being prodded into swifter action by various enthusiastic voices from the private sector, and on February 3, 1938, the organizational recommendation was approved by Under Secretary Welles.[2] But Laurence Duggan had been considering these plans on a grander long-range scale, and in the ensuing months his views were to prevail, resulting in the abandonment of this perhaps too hastily contrived administrative arrangement.

In a memorandum of February 8, 1938, Duggan strongly recommended to Welles that in view of the increasing importance of cultural relations on the international scene, instead of the suggested Inter-American Cultural Bureau in the Department of the Interior, a cultural relations office be established in the Department of State "devoted to the improvement of cultural relations with all countries of the world." He added,

> "Although under the present circumstances it is probable that the activities of the office, if established, would be concentrated primarily upon cultural relations with the other Ameri-

> can Republics, it is felt that the activities may well be extended to other parts of the world at some future time. Consequently, if an office is set up in the Department to handle these new activities, it is recommended that a separate Division be established which would work very closely with the geographic Divisions but which would be entirely independent of them as respects organization and personnel." [3]

Early in March a plan of organization and responsibilities was drawn up for review within the Department.[4] Duggan stated,

> "The establishment of an independent office for the promotion of cultural activities may be greeted in certain quarters with disapproval on the ground that the new office is to engage in propaganda . . . this type of criticism . . . I feel confident will in time disappear when the press and the public become aware of the real activities of the division. It has always been my idea that such a division would not engage in competition propaganda but would endeavor slowly, carefully and meticulously to construct solid foundations for cultural interchange." [5]

By early April, Duggan's recommendation was approved, although the public announcement was temporarily withheld. As early as April 16, Duggan had written to Edward Trueblood at the U.S. Embassy in Santiago, Chile, "A separate division of cultural relations is to be set up covering not only these relations with the other American countries but with all countries of the world." [6] A reporter on the *Evening Star* of Washington was at this time reminding Duggan to get in touch with him for a feature story as soon as the establishment of the new cultural division in the Department of State was publicly announced.[7]

In reporting to Welles on the many tasks ahead, in a memorandum of January 3, 1938, Duggan had stated:

> "One of the things I think should be done this year is the holding of a meeting of the Inter-American Committee on Intellectual Cooperation, to which should be added a number of other persons, such as the heads of the large foundations . . . et cetera . . . At this meeting, which might well be held in April or May, I think the Department should present its case and put up to these persons the necessity of their carrying their share of the burden in order that the ideas and traditions which we hold in the United States will be properly presented . . . The bureau which it is suggested be established in the Office of Education can do its share in the work to be undertaken." [8]

In April and May much attention was given to careful planning for this meeting.

Meanwhile, the Department had submitted an appropriation request to Congress for the 1939 fiscal year for five permanent officers for the work of the new Division. Hearings on this request had begun in December 1937. Already the Division of American Republics was recruiting for an additional person to devote full time to cultural matters filling an existing vacancy, and on February 16, 1938, the position was filled by Richard Pattee, Professor of Latin American History at the University of Puerto Rico, an expert on inter-American cultural history who had many professional contacts with intellectual leaders throughout Latin America.[9]

Other priority matters included responding to congressional inquiries and proposals; organizing the cultural division; planning the procedures for implementing the student and professor exchanges as provided in the Buenos Aires Convention; working out cooperative arrangements with the Office of Education; seeking cooperation from more of the private foundations; visiting universities to describe the Department's plans and enlist their cooperation; facilitating private exchange activities [illegible] possible; and responding to a variety of proposals and requests from private individuals in the United States and from Latin American governments, including referrals from other U.S. Government agencies.

In working out procedures for implementing exchanges under the Buenos Aires Convention the Department officials had not yet done much groundwork, awaiting congressional authorization for added staff. Besides, up to this time only the United States and the Dominican Republic had ratified the Convention.[10] No exchanges could be initiated, because of the reciprocal nature of the Convention, until other governments also ratified and set up machinery for processing exchanges.

Since the major decisions were being made largely by Welles and Duggan, in whom Welles had complete confidence, some of the others down the line felt at times that they were spinning wheels in a kind of interim period. Years later, in a letter to the author, Richard Pattee remarked,

> "In summary—and this is only a personal view, I think the whole idea sprang from Stephen Duggan and his son, Laurence, through the Institute of International Education. The idea was born and then things had to be found to do. A cart before ox arrangement that was not all that bad, but meant a vast amount of fumbling and uncertainty for a long time."[11]

Nevertheless, a variety of important matters were being looked into, if not as yet adequately explored in most cases. These related to the formulation of policies for initiating a variety of exchange activities, not only under the Buenos Aires Convention for the Promotion of Cultural Relations, but also under the various other agreements and resolutions agreed to at Buenos Aires, such as those relating to the exchange of publications, artistic exhibitions, radio broadcasting in the service of peace, educational films, and the establishment of special American libraries and reading rooms, all designed to strengthen closer ties among the peoples of the hemisphere. In March 1938 the Maritime Commission was sounded out on the possibility of obtaining special reduced steamer fares for bona fide students and professors coming from the Latin American countries.[12]

The approaches to the Department by private organizations and other entities beginning at this time were largely of two types, to seek support for proposed exchange projects, or to report on initiatives they had taken in support of the Department's inter-American cultural efforts. A notable example of the private initiatives that were being taken was the establishment of a program of travel awards by Pan American Airways in September 1937. This consisted of round trip transportation to the United States for students from all of the Latin American countries, with cooperation from the Institute of International Education (IIE) in developing and administering the program, and in arranging complementary tuition and maintenance scholarships. The first 8 awards were announced the following month, and 20 were awarded annually during the next few years. By 1949, more than 200 graduate students had benefited from these travel fellowships.[13] On a much larger scale, this arrangement remains in existence.

Proposals for Department support were more numerous. In a trip to Latin America at about this time, Dean Carl W. Ackerman of the School of Journalism at Columbia University formulated a plan for the interchange of journalists. The American Library Association developed a plan for fellowships for an interchange of librarians and approached the Department and the Rockefeller Foundation for financial support. A group of Texas women's organizations sought Department support for a Women's Pan American Good Will Congress to be held in Houston in 1938 for which they would provide $50,000 but for which added funds were needed. The Department took the position that the goals of inter-American relations would be better served if the women's clubs of the entire country could join in organizing and funding a congress of this type.

In a visit to the University of North Carolina, Richard Pattee talked with several faculty members who had visited or engaged in research in Latin American countries and reported that he was impressed by "the general feeling that our scholars and researchers need and desire a more active stimulus from official sources." He added, "There is no doubt that any program this Department may develop must depend in large part on the cooperation of these private entities and especially the universities." A Congressman referred to the Department a professor who was seeking financial support for research in Latin America; he was referred to the IIE, the Pan American Union, and several of the larger foundations. In the spring of 1938, while in the United States raising funds to build his institution into a full university, the President of Mackenzie College, founded under U.S. Protestant auspices in São Paulo, Brazil, in 1886, approached the Department for possible funding of U.S. lecturers who could help establish a graduate school at the institution. The Brazilian Embassy discussed with the Department a program under which four Brazilian officials were already studying at American University, entirely funded by the Brazilian Government. The Embassy official indicated that this program would be expanded if matching support could be provided. The Department could only suggest possible foundation support.[14]

In responding to requests by U.S. musicians and singers for endorsement or facilitation of their visits to Latin America, the Department officials took a flexible but cautious approach. The view was that the Department should encourage such cultural tours but should limit itself to notifying overseas posts concerning the visits and furnishing personal letters of introduction to officers of the U.S. Embassy or Legation, if feasible and appropriate. When Senator Robert F. Wagner requested that courtesies be extended to the well-known tenor, Frederick Jagel, a member of the Metropolitan Opera in New York who had been invited to appear at the Colón Opera House in Buenos Aires, the Department followed this general policy. It balked when the singer's agent asked that he be designated "musical ambassador of good will" and provided with letters of introduction to Argentine officials. He was referred to the Argentine Embassy and the Pan American Union. These were public relations matters on which the Department eventually would need to develop policies informally worked out in discussion with representative leaders of the artistic community, since these types of decisions would have to follow a fair degree of consistency as it moved into the broad field of cultural relations.[15]

At about this time the Colombian Embassy requested the good offices of the Department to see whether the Corcoran Gallery of Art and National Museum of Fine Arts would be willing to lend representative U.S. paintings for an art exhibit in Bogotá planned for that summer—about 3 months off! Considering it an excellent idea, the Department spent about a month exploring the possibility with art museums, the Smithsonian Institution, the American Federation of Art, and other art organizations only to meet with innumerable technical obstacles some of which would involve government funding for a curator to set up and accompany any such exhibit, and the plan eventually came to naught. The Department official who delved into all these matters wrote in a memorandum to Duggan, "The information picked up regarding the possibilities of cooperation for future exhibits is invaluable and may serve us much more effectively at a later date." [16]

Local Pan American and good neighbor councils and forums, promoters of inter-American centers, and local business groups contacted the Department for endorsement of fund-raising campaigns and possible Government funds which the Department encouraged while shying away from official endorsement or prospects of funding.[17] It was all good experience, and a clear indication that there would be no shortage of ideas and programs to mull over when a Department-sponsored cultural program was formally organized. A first concern would be to get the Buenos Aires Cultural Convention program underway, but it was obvious that the Department would need to work on many cultural fronts.

During April and early May, 1938, Laurence Duggan and his two colleagues Kelchner and Pattee were making plans for the important Department conference tentatively scheduled for late May. By the end of April the plans had been agreed upon by Secretary Hull and Under Secretary Welles, and the date set for May 23. The memorandum to Secretary Hull outlined the purpose of the conference as follows:

> "It is believed that the time has come when the Department should take some initiative in formulating a coordinated and practical program for the cooperation of private and official activities. It would seem that the present is a very appropriate time for this Government to do something along this line since the minds of educators, directors of Foundations, Senators, and Congressmen, et cetera, are turning toward the desirability, if not the necessity, of closer cultural cooperation especially among the other American Republics. The Foundations and organizations are viewing with increasing interest the possibilities of carrying out programs in the American Republics and it is believed that a little encouragement and a few suggestions regarding a desirable line of action is all that would be necessary to inaugurate a rather comprehensive and productive program." [18]

It was agreed that with the private sector as a working partner the new Cultural Division would be formally organized and in operation by the beginning of the next fiscal year.

In early May, 1938, Representative Maury Maverick of Texas introduced a resolution in Congress,

> ". . . to establish within the Department of State an Institute of Friendly American Relations: to carry out the obligations assumed by the United States in the Convention for the Promotion of Inter-American Cultural Relations, signed at Buenos Aires, December 23, 1936; to promote good will between the citizens of the United States and the citizens of other American Republics, and to provide for the exchange of students and professors between the United States and the other American Republics; to provide for scholarships; to promote trade and business relations between the United States and the other American Republics; to establish a radio station for the dissemination of information in the English, Spanish, and Portuguese languages, and for other purposes."

The resolution was referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs, but it was never reported out. Other legislation was pending before Congress to establish two new divisions in the Department of State, a Division of Cultural Relations and a Division of International Communications, primarily dealing with Latin American activities.[19]

The Meeting on Inter-American Cultural Cooperation was held as scheduled on May 23, 1938.[20] Of the 14 invited guests, 10 were from private organizations, 3 from U.S. Government agencies, and 1 from the Pan American Union. Every one of them was an acknowledged leader in international educational relations, representing one of the major pioneering institutions in the United States in this field. The major foundation donors over the years were represented: The Carnegie Endowment, the Carnegie Corporation, the Carnegie Institution of Washington, the Rockefeller Foundation, and the Guggenheim Foundation. Attending the meeting for the Department were Secretary Hull; Under Secretary Welles; Assistant Secretary George S. Messersmith; Laurence Duggan, Chief of the Division of American Republics, and Warren Kelchner and Richard Pattee of his staff.

In their opening remarks the Government representatives announced the intention of the Department to establish a Division of Cultural Relations. This announcement described the planned purposes of the Division, namely, to provide Government leadership in initiating and conducting an organized, coordinated, long-term national effort to strengthen U.S. cultural relations with other countries, beginning with the countries of Latin America where a cultural treaty obligation was pending. The Department wanted to assure the group that it expected to rely on the private sector as the major partner in shaping policies for the new Department-sponsored program, and to be able to publicly announce from the outset that the decision to establish a Division of Cultural Relations in the Department was based on discussion with and approval by the major national philanthropic, educational, and cultural entities of the country. The funds of the foundations could be a significant factor in any expanded cultural and educational program with the Latin American countries. The Department impressed on the group that because of the increasing tempo of Nazi inroads in Latin America, "time is of the essence." The desired moral support was received.

The agenda of the meeting centered on five major topics: the Department's plans for the establishment of a Division of Cultural Relations; policies and procedures for carrying out the exchange of students and professors in accordance with the terms of the Buenos Aires Cultural Convention; means for achieving a coordinated national effort to strengthen inter-American cultural relations in partnership with the private U.S. sector; the dissemination of information about U.S. culture throughout the Latin American countries; and the dissemination of knowledge about the culture of the Latin American countries in the United States. Throughout the discussions the Department spokesmen emphasized the urgency of immediate action in strengthening cultural cooperation with the Latin American countries where the Axis was diligently exploiting every possible source of ill will or hostility toward the United States.

After Secretary Hull's opening remarks, Under Secretary Welles read to the group a prepared statement outlining the Department's plan. He added, "I think that the fact that the government has taken the initiative gives a useful and helpful lead to organizations and individuals in this country who are interested in this same objective." He noted that in the last analysis everything depended on whether the people of the United States and those of the other American republics wanted closer cooperation and a wider measure of comprehension, and said that he had no doubt in his own mind that this was their desire. He stated, "It is our intention that the Division of Cultural Relations of the Department of State be immediately created." He indicated that within the next month or so the Division of Cultural Relations would create an officially sponsored Executive Committee, representing the national entities present at the meeting, to serve as an advisory body for the new Division on policy matters, as a direct clearinghouse for information on exchange activities, and as a part of the machinery for conducting the exchanges under the Buenos Aires Convention. The new Division "shall act as a secretariat of the Executive Committee." The central role to be played by the projected "Executive Committee" was repeatedly emphasized in the course of the discussions.

Messersmith stated:

> ". . . the necessity for having coordination within the Government and among the private organizations seemed possible only through a special set-up in this Department. So we have created a Division of Cultural Relations in the Department, which will be an entirely separate division, of course in close liaison with the four political divisions of the Department and others doing work in international conferences and so on or related with it. There will be at the head of this division a fairly high ranking officer specially qualified, and there will be in addition to that an Assistant Chief and two Divisional assistants . . . and we will give this division such clerical assistance as it will need. The intention is that through this division we will not only be able to bring about the coordination of these activities in the cultural field with other departments and agencies of the Government but to establish through this Executive Committee close coordination and cooperation with the existing organisms in this country."

In answer to inquiries from the group it was made clear that although at the beginning the program would concentrate on the Western Hemisphere, it was conceived in a worldwide context. Another question asked was "whether the new division of cultural relations would be linked with persons in the Embassies or Legations abroad who might act as attachés." Messersmith replied:

> "We have not considered the idea of cultural attachés, because we like to consider that every one of our foreign service officers in the field is chosen with adequate care so that he is considered in a degree a sort of cultural attaché. We would dislike very much the idea of setting up a special cultural attaché at this time, if only because the term has acquired a certain amount of odium." (He was referring to the misuse of the term by Germany and Italy.)

The foundation representatives called attention to examples of their large role in this work over the years. But it was clear that most of the foundation funds for Latin America were concentrated on several major countries, in the sciences and for science related research and assistance. The amounts the foundations had contributed to the IIE for academic exchange activities were limited largely to activities that supported their own specific focus of interest. The foundation representatives personified the interests of the small intellectual elitist sector where the foundations had their headquarters and from which they drew their leadership, the area between Boston and Washington. However, a healthy balance was provided by the broader concerns of Dr. Rowe of the Pan American Union and Dr. Duggan of the IIE, to whom most of the questions were directed, because of their experience and broad-gauged approach, and whose suggestions and recommendations were the most helpful.

In these discussions Dr. Rowe emphasized that the next step, perhaps more important than any other, was to seek the cooperation of the universities and colleges throughout the country. He added,

> "I think if it is put up to the institution by the State Department as part of a national plan in which they are called upon and have the opportunity to do real international service I think [*sic*] there are very few who would not respond favorably . . . That would be the first thing to be done . . . I would regard that as the greatest service toward furthering cultural relations."

The terms of the Buenos Aires Convention and the proposed machinery and policies for carrying them out were discussed in greater detail than any other topic, and the group was candid in offering a number of specific recommendations on selection procedures, in which all participated with strong convictions based on their long experience in supporting and administering various types of privately sponsored exchange grants. Welles pointed out that of the 21 signatories to the Buenos Aires Convention only four had ratified: Brazil, the United States, Mexico, and the Dominican Republic. Laurence Duggan added:

> "I think when this arrangement [has been] announced for the establishment of the Division of Cultural Relations in the Department and we are in a position to handle our end of this exchange, other countries will show more interest in ratifying than they have in the past. We haven't pushed the matter because we ourselves haven't been able to put the ratification into effect."

It was stated that by the first of January 1939 the Department expected to exchange panels with the other governments which had ratified the Convention.

In discussing standards for placing U.S. student and professor candidates on panels for selection by the host country, the question was discussed as to whether the competition should be open to individual applications on an unrestricted basis, or whether certain restrictions should be imposed. Under the terms of the Convention the panels were to be prepared entirely within the specifications of each government. Dr. Duggan suggested, from the experience of the IIE, that recommendations should be made by colleges and universities with their endorsement of the individuals' personal and professional qualifications. Laurence Duggan added that from those nominated in this way the selection of those to be included on the panels to be submitted to the other governments "would be the job of the Executive Committee. Of course, the Division of Cultural Relations would narrow the number down, slough off those that would not be up to scratch . . . We would propose to draw up individual panels for individual countries."

In screening U.S. candidates Dr. Rowe urged that the active cooperation of the IIE should be secured. He stated "the Institute can act without reference to any political recommendations," as the referral office "to pass on qualification." Dr. Duggan concurred that the Department should "have the advice of people outside the Government." Welles said the problem was that other countries in Latin America do not have unofficial agencies like the Institute to use, a reason why administrative details were not spelled out in the Buenos Aires Convention. He added, "I think the assistance of the Institute will be valuable in trying to help us get over that object [*sic*]." He added that "to function successfully the Executive Committee and the new Division of Cultural Relations will have to act as a unit and as a clearing house for all kinds of information," and therefore it might be desirable to bring up at the approaching inter-American conference in Lima the desirability of having each government set up, as far as it could, an advisory body to assist in preparing and presenting to the other participating countries their panels of nominations for fellowships.

Dr. Aydelotte of the Guggenheim Foundation, in speaking of fields and levels of preparation of Latin American students, reminded his colleagues that "every country is different," adding "I think a general principle in international study is that the student has first exhausted the possibilities of his own country." He added that although the Buenos Aires Convention provided solely for graduate students, "It is obviously important in countries where they can't get an ordinary preliminary medical training to have them come up and take undergraduate courses first here." On another point, it was generally agreed that the term "graduate students" in the Convention should be interpreted to include the postdoctoral level.

It was recommended that technical and scientific fields of practical need be given due attention in the selection process. The foundation representatives emphasized the importance of considering cooperative research in scientific fields, and the importance of joint government-to-government projects in preparing panels of candidates to assure priority attention to areas of mutual need and benefit. Welles and Messersmith agreed, but pointed out that these considerations were being met in separate legislation "presented at our initiative." In fact, this legislation was acted upon and became law on May 25, 2 days after the meeting.[21] This law made it possible for the U.S. Government to make available to all of the other American republics the services of civilian officials of the U.S. Government. Formerly, under the existing legislation it was possible only to send military and naval officers to serve as advisers to the other republics. Under the new legislation civilian officials in the various fields represented by U.S. Government agencies such as agriculture, public health, public roads, etc., could be sent out as specialists at the request of the other governments, either cooperatively funded or funded entirely by the U.S. Government.

Other activities planned by the Department and endorsed in principle were support for locally developed binational cultural centers and encouragement of new ones on the model of the Argentine-North American Cultural Institute; support for American-sponsored schools; book translations; establishment of library collections of U.S. literature; providing library services; book donations and exchange of books and periodicals; strengthening the lagging study of Spanish, Portuguese, and Latin American culture in the United States; and supporting English teaching in Latin American countries. Cultural exhibits were also discussed, but it was generally agreed that this required separate consideration in consultation with artistic groups and institutions.

In discussing binational cultural centers it was recommended that the financing necessary to start such centers should be from local sources. Dr. Aydelotte noted, "I think if they finance the foundation work they will take more interest in it than if it were financed by the United States." He recommended that financial support should be given only when the organization was already running on its own funds, and in modest amounts that would stimulate their own efforts, such as funding an occasional visiting lecturer from the United States.

Aid to American-sponsored schools in Latin America was of special interest to the Department in view of the active role of the German and Italian Governments in supporting schools in countries with large German and Italian communities which in some cases were the best primary and secondary schools in the country and therefore were attracting many students from influential Latin American families. It was generally agreed that American-sponsored schools merited U.S. Government support.

Book translations and donations to libraries at cultural centers and universities, carefully selected to have some assurance that the donated books would be accessible to the public and read, and library services were the other topics discussed most fully.

It was emphasized that financial support from local U.S. sources in these countries for the proposed activities was limited, and that expansion required a stable source of U.S. funding. Dr. Bowman and Mr. Finch added the significant comments that,

> "Sometimes ideas get under way before their time and sometimes they get under way with such small support that they are not really tested by experience . . . I have no doubt that with all the intelligent energy being shown now on this enterprise we will be able to start some very useful things but you will have the same experience that we had unless you are able to continue to expand."

The group indicated that it was favorably disposed to the Department's plan for the organization of the Division of Cultural Relations in the Department and the establishment of an Executive Committee to work with the Division along the lines indicated. One of the responsibilities of the Executive Committee would be to make the selections from the panels submitted by Latin American countries of students coming to the United States and to draw up the panels from applications received to be sent to those countries.

The private organizations represented at the meeting were praised for their work, which the Department representatives expected would continue to constitute 95 percent of the activity. The IIE and its director, Dr. Stephen Duggan, were singled out for their paramount role in promoting educational exchange programs and in establishing tested models for the Government to turn to in developing exchange policies and techniques.

In their remarks at the close of the meeting, Hull, Welles, and Messersmith emphasized the urgent need to move ahead rapidly. As Messersmith put it, in very clear terms:

> "We are not trying to make, as Mr. Welles made it very clear, counter-propaganda. We are interested in the broad basic problem of developing the really friendly relations between this country and our neighbors, but we feel very definitely the need of special action and attention at this time, and when I say at this time this next year will have to be a particularly active one for us. That is why some of us have strained every nerve in order to make it possible to get the necessary money for the creation of this small Division in the Department."

Two days later, on May 25, Assistant Secretary Messersmith appeared before a House Appropriations Subcommittee for hearings on a special salary appropriation request of $27,920 to establish the division with a staff of eight—five professionals, two clerk-stenographers, and one messenger. This money was granted in the Second Deficiency Appropriations Act, 1938, which was signed into law on June 25.[22] A month later, on July 27, the Division of Cultural Relations was created by Departmental order.[23]

Between spring and fall of 1938, even after the official announcement of the establishment of the Division of Cultural Relations in the Department, stateside activities of the small cultural relations staff in the Department were still quite routine with some staff work following up on the May 23 meeting; planning cultural matters for consideration at the inter-American conference scheduled to be held in Lima in December; fending off "do gooders" who wanted jobs; facilitating a few worthy exchange activities; and dealing with a variety of educational and cultural proposals from the public, good and bad. At the same time traffic in messages to and from the Foreign Service posts in Latin America began slowly to build up on cultural matters as a result of the growing "cultural" activities of Germany, well-organized and well-subsidized, and designed to counteract and weaken U.S. cultural relationships with the Latin American countries and discredit U.S. motives and purposes in the area.

Several constructive initiatives were being taken by private institutions which received cautious but definite encouragement from the Department. For example, Columbia University prepared to bring to the 25th anniversary of its School of Journalism a number of prominent journalists from Latin America. Laurence Duggan stated in a memorandum to Assistant Secretary Messersmith, "I believe that the Department through the new cultural division and its missions abroad should do what it can to assist in the execution of the plan, without of course, becoming too closely identified with it." The same approach was taken to the establishment of the Cabot Foundation, under which Columbia University was to award annual prizes to Latin American newspapers and press organizations serving the profession of journalism in the hemisphere. This was to become a distinguished annual event for which the Department was to provide facilitative services through its Embassies.

Moral support was given to a suggestion to arrange a Pan American Music Festival for the New York World's Fair which was being planned for 1939. The new division facilitated official representation at inter-American conferences in various educational and cultural fields, through arrangements for official or special passports and Embassy cooperation, and through financing from the Department's funds for official representation at international conferences or from private sources: the designation of a U.S. professor of Latin American literature as official delegate to the First Congress on the Teaching of Ibero-American Literature held in Mexico City in August 1938, and another to attend a U.S. books exhibit in Bogotá under the auspices of the Library of Congress and the Carnegie Endowment. Considerable time was spent in exploring the request by the World Federation of Education Associations that the Maritime Commission make ship transportation available for the 1,500 or more U.S. educators to attend the Federation Conference scheduled to be held in Rio in the summer of 1939, with plans for stopovers en route. The posts brought to the attention of the Department the lack of a systematic plan to notify Embassies in advance of visiting professors under private auspices, and that the establishment of such a plan would enable these scholars to reach a wider audience. The Department began to realize that there were a number of ways in which it could further cultural relations through services not entailing Government funds.[24]

The entry of the U.S. Government into cultural exchange activities stimulated inter-American cultural initiatives in several Latin American countries. In 1938, the Peruvian-United States Cultural Institute and the Chilean-United States Cultural Institute were established in Lima and in Santiago. Both these centers were to prosper over the years.

With the cooperation of the IIE a student exchange program between the University of Chile and Stanford University was initiated, with the Chilean Commission on Intellectual Cooperation, with headquarters at the University, serving as the coordinating agency in Chile. The project, jointly funded by the two universities, was terminated in 1941 along with several other pioneer initiatives of this type largely for economic reasons.

There was a sizable backlog of requests for faculty exchanges. The University of São Paulo had a standing request for funds to replace two U.S. professors there who had to leave because of inadequate compensation. A message from the Consulate General stated that if professors were not secured the university would be forced to turn to European institutions to fill the positions. Also, in June 1938, a request was on file from the University of San Marcos, in Lima, for the establishment of a chair of North American literature at that institution.[25]

Among the many proposals received in the ensuing months was one to establish an inter-American university in St. Augustine, Florida, the site of the oldest Spanish-founded city in the United States. Another was a scheme to have a seven-car display train visit 50 principal cities with exhibits in connection with Pan American Day celebrations. Ten years later, a different version of this impressed Congressman Karl Mundt of South Dakota who incorporated in an obscure clause in the Smith-Mundt Act the idea of sending "guest lecturer"-exhibit-bookmobile units to the smaller towns and rural areas of the United States and Latin America, thereby reaching a larger public audience in fostering inter-American understanding. A lady in California asked if the diplomatic pouch could be used to ship dolls of national figures in a proposed international interchange of dolls between school children, beginning with an exchange with Latin American countries. Some equally novel schemes which understandably did not materialize emanated from Latin Americans.[26]

During this same period steps were being taken to further information media activity through official and private proposals for accelerated radio broadcasting, films, and news information from the United States to the Latin American countries. Hitler's Germany was hard at work in these fields. The "cultural unit" in the Department was the focal point for discussions with Congressmen Emanuel Celler, of New York, and Dennis Chávez, of New Mexico, who proposed legislation for establishing a Government-owned and -operated radio station beamed to Latin America. The Department supported this legislation.

The Pan American Union proposed that the Department take steps to interest a national radio network in transmitting an address or series of addresses to Latin America by Dr. J. A. Encinas, former Rector of the University of San Marcos, in Lima, who was in Washington in June 1938. Richard Pattee in a memorandum to Laurence Duggan of June 9 noted that several other distinguished Latin American intellectuals were visiting the United States at that time, and that "It would seem desirable to stimulate as much as possible radio transmissions to Latin America by distinguished visitors from the other American republics to this country. This is a practice which is followed with remarkable success by Germany." Proposals for educational and dramatic films were also the subject of considerable discussion. There were many other proposals of this type from a variety of sources, some of which were to come to fruition once the new Division of Cultural Relations got underway.[27]

By early June 1938 newspapers in various Latin American countries commented favorably on the U.S. Government's publicly announced cultural relations program. For example, an editorial in *La Opinión* of Ciudad Trujillo, in the Dominican Republic, praised the steps contemplated, and emphasized the need for fundamental comprehension as distinct from spectacular manifestations of friendship. A despatch to the Department from the U.S. Legation in Ciudad Trujillo observed "news despatches have been prominently displayed regarding the proposal to create two new divisions in the Department of State for communications and cultural relations with Latin America."[28]

Notes

CHAPTER V

1. Dept. of State memoranda, Nov. 3, 8, and 9, 1937, NA, RG 59, WHB, Box 57; memorandum, Duggan to Welles, Feb. 8, 1938, p. 2, NA, RG 353, SCC, Box 2; Murray Lawson, *The United States Information Agency: A History, Origins, 1933–1945*, vol. I, U.S. Information Agency, Washington, D.C., 1970. Unfinished manuscript, vol. 1, ch. 2, p. 13.
2. Dept. of State memoranda, Dec. 23, 1937, and Jan. 3, 1938, NA, RG 353, SCC, Box 2; Lawson, *op cit.*, vol. 1, ch. 2, pp. 13, 14.
3. NA, RG 353, SCC, Box 2.
4. Dept. of State memoranda, Mar. 3, 9, 1938, NA, RG 59, WHB, Box 57.
5. Duggan to Welles, Mar. 9, 1938, *ibid.*
6. Duggan to Trueblood, Apr. 16, 1938. Quoted in Edward G. Trueblood, *Memoirs.* Unfinished manuscript, p. 8, copy in CU/H.
7. Dept. of State memorandum, Duggan to Kelchner and Pattee, Apr. 26, 1938, NA, RG 353, SCC, Box 2.
8. NA, RG 353, SCC, Box 2.
9. *Progress Report of the Division of Cultural Relations*, June 1940, Dept. of State, p. 5; NA, RG 59, WHB, Box 56, and CU/H.
10. Dept. of State memorandum, Mar. 11, 1938, NA, RG 353, SCC, Box 2.
11. Letter, Pattee to J. Manuel Espinosa, Mar. 23, 1973, CU/H.
12. Dept. of State memorandum, Mar. 21, 1938, *ibid.*
13. IIE/H, Microfilm Roll 10, Side 1, Index No. 28; *House Hearings, Department of State Appropriations Bill for 1942* (Washington, D.C., U.S. Government Printing Office, 1941), p. 370; *News Bulletin*, IIE, XIII (Oct. 1, 1937) p. 10; *ibid.*, XXIV (May 1, 1949), pp. 15–16. In 1939 the program was expanded to include, for a time, six fellowships to U.S. graduate students. IIE/H, Microfilm Roll 10, Side 2, Index No. 12.
14. Dept. of State memoranda, NA, RG 353, SCC Boxes 2–3.
15. *Ibid.*
16. *Ibid.*
17. *Ibid.*
18. Kelchner to Hull, Welles, Messersmith, and Duggan, Apr. 16, 1938, and related memoranda, NA, RG 353, Box 2.
19. *Congressional Record*, 75th Cong., 3d sess., vol. 83, pt. 6, May 11, 1938, p. 6715; Dept. of State memorandum, May 23, 1938, NA, RG 353, SCC, Box 2.
20. The following account of this meeting, including the quoted statements of participants, is taken from the transcript of "The Meeting on Inter-American Cultural Cooperation, May 23, 1938," NA, RG 59, WHB, Box 52. The invited guests were: Dr. Frank Aydelotte, Chairman, Educational Advisory Board, Guggenheim Foundation; Dr. Isaiah Bowman, President, Johns Hopkins Univ.; Dr. E. N. Bressman, Special Adviser to the Secretary of Agriculture, Dept. of Agriculture; Laurence Vail Coleman, Director, American Association of Museums; Dr. Stephen P. Duggan, Director of the IIE; George Finch, Assistant Secretary, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, in place of Nicholas Murray Butler, who was unable to attend; Dr. Cecil K. Jones, Assistant Cataloger, Library of Congress,

and Professor of Spanish-American Literature; Dr. Frederick P. Keppel, President, Carnegie Corp.; Dr. John G. Merriam, President, Carnegie Institution of Washington; Dr. Carl H. Milam, Executive Secretary, American Library Association; The Honorable L. S. Rowe, Pan American Union; Dr. David H. Stevens, Rockefeller Foundation; Dr. John W. Studebaker, Commissioner, Office of Education, Dept. of Interior; Charles A. Thomson, Foreign Policy Association, Inc.

21. The Act of May 25, 1938, also included the Philippines; amended on May 3, 1939, to include Liberia, Public Law 63, 76th Cong., 53 Stat. 652. Australia was added by special legislation, Public Law 678, 76th Cong., 55 Stat. 591.

22. Lawson, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, ch. 2, pp. 14, 94.

23. Departmental order signed by Cordell Hull, July 27, 1938, Dept. of State Press Release 367.

24. Dept. of State memoranda, May 25, 1938, to Aug. 24, 1938, NA, RG 353, SCC, Box 2; *Hispania*, XXI (Oct. 1938), pp. 198–200.

25. Dept. of State memoranda, miscellaneous, NA, RG 353, SCC, Box 2.

26. *Ibid.*

27. Dept. of State memoranda, Jan. 15, June 9, Aug. 3, 17, 18, Sept. 21, Nov. 4, 1938, *ibid.*

28. Pattee to Duggan, June 25, 1938, *ibid.*

Shaping New Policies and Patterns

CHAPTER VI

Launching the New Program

On June 29, 1938, Secretary Hull addressed a letter to Ben M. Cherrington, Director of the Foundation for the Advancement of the Social Sciences at the University of Denver, inviting him, in the name of the President, to be the director of the new Division of Cultural Relations in the Department.[1] An appropriation request for the Division for the 1939 fiscal year had been approved as one of the last actions of Congress before its adjournment, and was approved by the President on June 25, 1938. The letter outlined in detail the purposes and functions of the new Division.

Hull stated that while "the Government has in the main been content to leave to private organizations what should at least in part have been its own responsibility," and these agencies and foundations had done splendid work considering their lack of funds and other handicaps, "there has been, however, a lack of coordination between them and of a clearcut and long-range plan for many of their activities." He then went on to say:

> "The immediate task before the new division will be to stimulate cultural interchange with the other American countries. The Good Neighbor policy has not only removed the suspicion and distrust which those countries hold concerning our political and economic intentions, but has placed relations between the United States and those countries on the most cordial basis that has existed since the days when they were seeking their independence. However, if this policy is to be of lasting significance it must be bulwarked by an appreciation by these countries of the spiritual and intellectual values in this country, as well as by an understanding by the American people of the cultural achievements of their southern neighbors."

The letter singled out the following major activities through which it was planned to accomplish these aims: to administer the Buenos Aires Convention; to augment the number of unofficial exchanges of professors, teachers, and students by encouraging foundations, universities, and colleges to establish more fellowships and scholarships; to encourage the establishment of small representative libraries in the several American countries; to enlarge existing library collections and contribute to new ones, in cooperation with foundations and such organizations as the American Library Association which could help financially and in the selection of representative books; to explore the possibilities for book translations and the publication of cheap editions; and to lend encouragement and assistance to binational cultural institutes already established in Latin American countries through local initiative.

After summarizing the Latin American aspects of the proposed program, the letter concluded by reemphasizing the importance of enlisting the participation of the U.S. public as basic to the entire enterprise, adding: "As you know, our people have only a vague and misty conception, often a misconception, of our southern neighbors. This situation must be rectified, and rectified quickly. For this, the active interest and wholehearted cooperation of public and private agencies must be enlisted. This will be the task of the new division." A copy of the Buenos Aires Convention was enclosed with the letter.

Cherrington, according to his unpublished memoirs, had no inkling that he was being considered for the position. He discussed the matter with his superiors at the University of Denver and obtained tentative assurances for a leave of absence to enable him to accept the appointment long enough to get the enterprise organized and on its way. He immediately traveled to Washington where he discussed the offer with several Members of Congress who had been instrumental in supporting the new program. They advised him to accept the position. After equally encouraging conversations with Secretary Hull and Under Secretary Welles he returned to Denver to obtain formal approval from his university. He obtained a 1-year leave of absence, later extended to 2 years.

In his memoirs Cherrington writes:

> "In my early conversations with Mr. Hull he described in some detail how the decision was reached to establish a Division of Cultural Relations. The totalitarian nations, especially Germany, Japan, and Russia, were aggressively projecting abroad propaganda activities under the guise of cultural relations. Much of this was focused on the American Republics. Many countries were being offered scholarships and fellowships enabling students and professors to study in one of these nations, lecturers and concert artists were made available and attractive literature describing the cultural achievements of the nation from which the propaganda emanated [was] widely distributed. Many hours of radio programs were beamed on Latin America weekly. Criticisms of the United States and its low state of culture though obliquely made were constantly reaching the citizens of

our neighbors to the South. And because the United States over the years had neglected to become acquainted with the culture of Latin America and to inform them about ourselves both they and we were virtual strangers . . . I remember well Secretary Hull's comments about the role of the new Division of Cultural Relations and my part as its leader which went something like the following: 'Dr. Cherrington this is an entirely new venture for our government. There are no precedents to guide us and frankly we don't know how it should be done. But we are clear about one matter: we do not wish to follow the example of the totalitarian States. Whatever we do must conform to procedures and standards long established in our American democracy. We want you to take all the time you find necessary in exploring various possibilities until you find the one you consider appropriate.' "[2]

Department press releases dated July 27, 1938, announced the signing that day of Departmental Order 768 establishing in the Department the Division of Cultural Relations, and the appointment of Cherrington as Chief of the Division with a brief summary of his distinguished career in international affairs.[3] These press releases made clear that although the Division's immediate purpose was to establish a cultural relations program with the Latin American countries, the eventual extension of the program worldwide was envisioned. The Division was established "For the purpose of encouraging and strengthening cultural relations and intellectual cooperation between the United States and other countries . . ." After listing the program activities for which the new Division would be responsible, the press releases summarized the general responsibilities:

> ". . . the Division of Cultural Relations will direct the conduct of exhaustive studies and have responsibility for the elaboration and the carrying into effect of a comprehensive and coordinated plan of activity in this country for the strengthening of international intellectual and cultural relations; it will assist in the preparation and interpretation of treaties in this field; it will supervise the formulation of regulations and procedure necessary for the fulfillment of obligations under the Convention for the Promotion of Inter-American Cultural Relations and other treaties and conventions relating to cultural relations to which the United States may become a party; it will draft or review correspondence with foreign governments, American Diplomatic and Consular Officers, and all other correspondence pertaining to these activities; it will collaborate with the Office of Education and other Government Departments and Agencies, the National Committee on Inter-American Intellectual Cooperation, other educational and cultural organizations and institutions, and Foreign Missions in Washington."

In a nationwide radio address on the same day, Under Secretary Welles highlighted the announcement with the following remarks elaborating on the purposes of the new Division:

> "It might be well to point out that in the Foreign Offices of the principal governments of the world there are similar divisions. Whereas some of these governments have most elaborate establishments with large appropriations, for propaganda purposes, the one which we are now setting up will have a staff of eight persons including clerical personnel. Congress appropriated $27,920 to pay their total annual salaries. No other funds were appropriated. It is obvious that this is not a propaganda agency. We have no reason to undertake any form of propaganda with our friends and neighbors in the Western Hemisphere. We will, of course, look to the educational institutions and other private organizations interested in international cultural activities to cooperate with us in carrying the financial burden, the fruits of which I am confident will enrich the lives of our own people as well as our neighbors."[4]

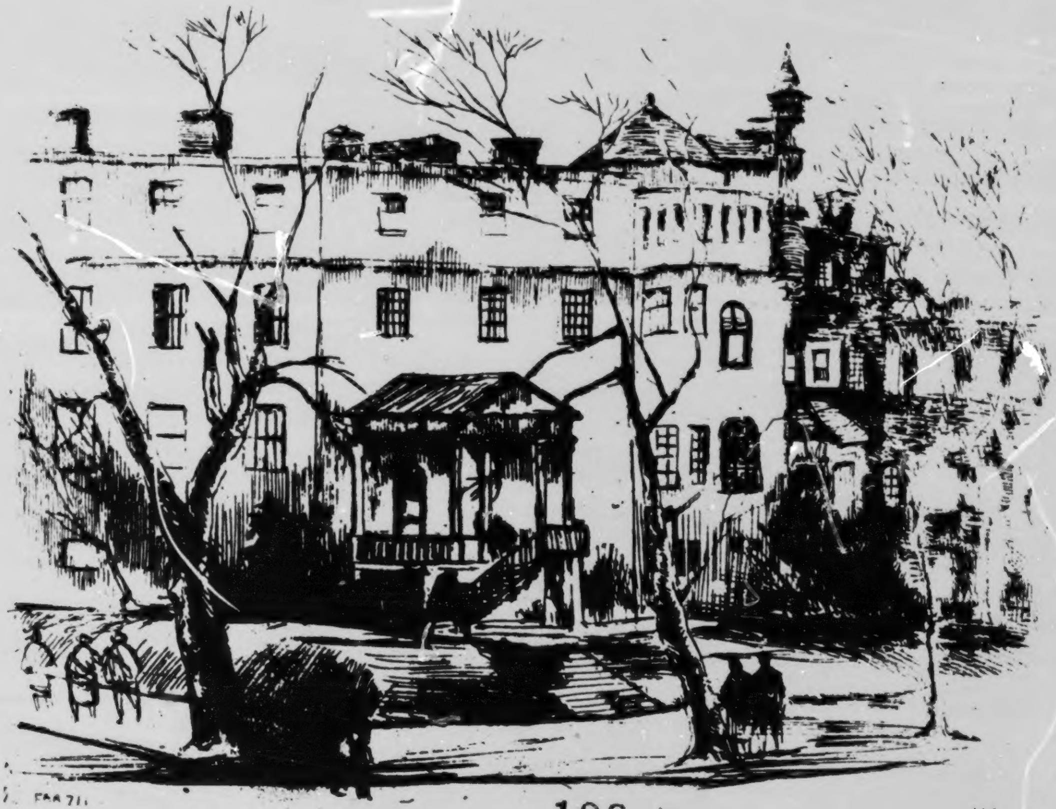
In the late summer of 1938 Cherrington and his family drove to Washington. He had assumed official responsibility in late August at Des Moines, Iowa, to be in a position to conduct official business at points en route to Washington where he arrived in early September.[5] Richard Pattee was immediately assigned to the new Division, and by the end of the year a staff of six persons had been assembled, including Cherrington; Pattee; Irene Wright, a Latin Americanist who had held various research positions in the Government; an executive clerk, Mrs. Martha Le May; a Spanish-speaking stenographer, Miss Inez María Román; and a messenger who was to serve the Division loyally for many years in that capacity, Moses Brown. In January of the following year Harry Pierson, then in the Paris Embassy but with Latin American experience, joined the staff, and by mid-February Charles A. Thomson of the Foreign Policy Association and also a Latin American expert, joined as Assistant Chief of the Division. This was the staff through the first year, under the immediate supervision of Laurence Duggan, Welles, and Hull.[6] In referring to Duggan, Cherrington writes "During my two years in the Department he became my closest friend and adviser." He writes of Welles, "my conferences with him proved more frequent than with Hull." Hull told him "I want you to feel free to consult me at any time you wish to do so," and when the occasion warranted it his door was always open.[7]

The first offices of the Division of Cultural Relations were in four rooms in the Old State Department building, adjoining those occupied by Laurence Duggan and the staff of the Division of American Republics. In 1941 the offices moved into "annexes" across the street on 17th Street; first in the Winder Building in 1941, and in 1942 the "Grant Building," a historic residence where General Grant had his headquarters in Washington, D.C., in Civil War days. The Grant Building, since demolished, housed the offices of the Division until mid-1947.[8]

Welles had advised Cherrington soon after his arrival in Washington to visit the Latin American countries to acquaint the U.S. Embassies and Legations with the plans of the Division and explore ways in which officers at these posts might participate, and to be a member of the U.S. delegation to the Inter-American Conference in Lima in December. He left for Latin America in late November and was away until February 1939. During his absence Pattee served as acting chief of the Division. The program picked up momentum after his return from Latin America, but steps to implement the Buenos Aires Convention remained bogged down as Congress had not yet appropriated the necessary program funds.[9]

By a quirk of fate, the concept that the program would eventually be worldwide was rewarded from the beginning by unexpected guests from Afghanistan. Cherrington writes in his unpublished memoirs:

> "Undoubtedly our most unexpected event occurred early in the Fall of 1938. Our staff consisted of Pattee and me, policies and programs were yet to be formulated: in short we were far from ready to open shop for business. My secretary entered my office with an expression on her face indicating that something had happened that left her completely bewildered. Outside, in the reception room, she reported, were six young men from Afghanistan waiting to see me. Their government had heard the United States was now entering the field of cultural relations and had sent them on government scholarships to study Americal police methods. They had arrived with full confidence we would take over from that point forward. 'Afghanistan,' I thought, 'quite a distance from Latin America in which our activities were supposed to be confined, and where in America could one study police methods?' Needing time to recover from the shock and pull my wits together I greeted the young men cordially and arranged for a messenger to take them on a tour of Washington. Aside, I told him to make it a long one . . . by the time our young friends had returned from their inspection of Washington all six had been placed although I have forgotten where the last two were to be accepted. Thus the first actual involvement of our Government in cultural exchange was not with a Latin American nation but instead with a country thousands of miles from the New World." [10]



Courtesy: **Gustav Trois**

During the first year of Cherrington's tenure in Washington as chief of the Division of Cultural Relations, from the fall of 1938 to the fall of 1939, the basic groundwork was laid for the first year of active program operations which was to follow. His main task was the formulation of basic policies for the program. Since this was the first effort of this kind on the part of the U.S. Government in its entire history, and in view of the formidable task of co-relating individuals and agencies of diverse interests into a working partnership under the Department's stimulation and leadership, it was a period of remarkable accomplishment. As Cherrington reminisced years later, "We were grateful to Mr. Hull for his advice to take our time in exploring the best way to organize the Division and determine the nature and content of its program." [11]

In the few months between Cherrington's appointment and his trip to Latin America in the winter of 1938, the work of the Division revolved around four major activities: (1) consultations with the Office of Education in developing procedures under the Buenos Aires Convention, including the selection of panels of graduate students and teachers to be submitted to the other signatory countries, the assembling of a list of U.S. professors available for lectureships in Latin American countries, and the selection of Latin American professors to lecture in the United States from panels submitted to the Government; (2) policy discussions with the General Advisory Committee, which held its first two meetings during that period, and the appointment of temporary advisory subcommittees composed of recognized national figures in the fields of professor and student exchange, publications, translations, and film making; (3) personal contacts with universities, colleges, and educational agencies and organizations; and (4) clearing and coordinating related activities of other U.S. Government departments and agencies with Latin American governments.

At the same time, program ideas were being welcomed from whatever source and given the attention they seemed to merit. Also, enthusiastic Department officers with Latin American experience offered a number of suggestions for the day when funds would be available for the Division to take new initiatives of its own in response to known opportunities or potentialities. Much time was spent on queries and proposals directed in the

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◀ **The Grant Building at 17th and F Streets, N.W., Washington, D.C., headquarters of the Cultural Relations Division, Department of State, 1942–1947.**

first instance to other agencies of the Government and referred by them to the Division. Some of these proposals raised the need for policy statements to answer immediate questions and future ones of a similar nature.

It had become clear to Cherrington and his colleagues from the beginning that the previously discussed General Advisory Committee of knowledgeable leaders from the private sector was urgently needed. On October 22, 1938, a four-man General Advisory Committee on Cultural Relations was appointed by Secretary Hull to provide the Division with the wise counsel of persons who thoroughly understood the work of private agencies engaged in educational and cultural exchange activities. The first members were Dr. Stephen Duggan, Director of the Institute of International Education; Dr. James T. Shotwell, Bryce Professor of the History of International Relations at Columbia University and chairman of the U.S. Committee on International Intellectual Cooperation of the League of Nations; Carl H. Milam, Secretary, American Library Association; and Dr. John W. Studebaker, Commissioner of Education. With the exception of Shotwell, all attended the first meeting on November 8. Shotwell was represented by Dr. Waldo G. Leland, Permanent Secretary, American Council of Learned Societies. They met regularly with officers of the Department until the demise of the Committee in 1945. An additional six-man Advisory Subcommittee on Exchange of Students and Professors was appointed to assist in formulating more definite procedures for implementing the Buenos Aires Convention as soon as requested program funds should become available.[12]

During the first years of the Division's existence, its staff, Hull, Welles, Duggan, and the members of the Advisory Committee were all preoccupied with the task of identifying a guiding philosophy and formulating goals and principles on which to proceed. Their ideas were explored in great detail at the meetings of the Advisory Committee, and it was in these meetings that the policies and patterns of program action were shaped.

Before continuing our account of the activities of the Division, it is necessary to turn for a moment to the first year of operation of the Interdepartmental Committee on Cooperation with the American Republics, which had been established in May of 1938 to coordinate the overseas activities of U.S. Government agencies, with which the Division of Cultural Relations would have a close administrative and operating relationship on through the 1940's.

When the Interdepartmental Committee was established it was envisaged as a Government-wide emergency action group to coordinate and develop a wide-ranging program of practical Government cooperation with the Latin American countries, including an exchange of Government personnel in technical and specialized fields.

It is believed that the Committee stemmed from discussions in a Cabinet meeting held in February 1938 during the course of which the increasing penetration of Axis experts of all types throughout Latin America was discussed and President Roosevelt expressed a desire that some means be found to combat this form of Axis propaganda. In early May 1938 he instructed Under Secretary Welles to consult with other Federal agencies and to work out with them a definite program of action. The establishment of the Committee was based on oral authorization by the President, and no contemporary evidence has been found that the President at that time contemplated the formation of a formal Interdepartmental Committee. Despite the important role it was to play over the next decade as the precursor of the technical assistance program of the Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs during the war and of the postwar Point IV program, no Executive order was ever issued spelling out its organization and purpose.[13]

It is clear that an immediate purpose was to explore ways in which experts from U.S. Government agencies might be made available to their counterparts in Latin American countries upon request. As early as the fall of 1936, as a result of a request from the Argentine Government for the services of an expert from the Department of Agriculture, the Department's Latin American Division recommended the adoption of enabling legislation to make such temporary assignments possible. Existing legislation dating back to 1926 authorized the detail only of Armed Forces personnel to assist the governments of Latin America in military and naval matters.

On February 26, 1937, Welles informed Hull that he agreed fully with the recommendation, stating "it is, in my judgment, more desirable for the Government of the United States to lend to the Governments of the other American republics the services of experts in agriculture, education, commerce, etc., than military and naval experts, however desirable and, perhaps, necessary the latter may be." After delays involved in interagency clearances and Bureau of the Budget approval, over a year later, on March 28, 1938, Secretary Hull requested President Roosevelt to seek legislative authorization. On April 7 the "temporary detail" bill was introduced into both houses of Congress, was passed without delay, and was sent to the President for signature on May 23. It became law on May 25—Public Law

545, 75th Congress. On May 23 Assistant Secretary Messersmith stated succinctly the reasons for the legislation: "We were forced to the measure of getting the Congress to approve the sending of civilian officers of our Government to Latin America because certain countries of South America were being simply almost inundated with officers from certain countries in Europe with all sorts of expert advice without any cost to them." He added that they preferred to get the expert advice from the United States, "but we were not in a position to supply it." [14]

Immediately after the passage of the Temporary Detail Act it became apparent that Congress' stipulation that the Government departments and agencies making details bear the cost out of their regular appropriations would work a financial hardship on them and even impair their ability to make such details. The Department recommended the adoption of an amendment permitting the "reimbursements received from the other governments" to be credited to the Departmental "appropriations from which the expenses . . . were originally paid." The amendment was approved by Congress a year later in Public Law 63, 76th Congress, May 3, 1939. On June 18, 1938, the Department had advised all Chiefs of Mission in the Latin American countries to bring the provisions of the "temporary detail" bill to the attention of the Foreign Offices, and with the passage of Public Law 63 a similar message was sent to the posts.[15]

Meanwhile, on May 26, 1938, the Interdepartmental Committee met for the first time. Eleven agencies participated in the first meeting, and the number increased to a total of 28 by the end of 1944. During the summer of 1938 the Committee held regular meetings to consider what already was being done and what new projects could be initiated. Requests for U.S. experts were already on file from various countries. On November 10, 1938, the Committee submitted a report to the President setting forth a "concrete program designed to render closer and more effective the relationship between the Government and people of the United States and our neighbors in the twenty republics to the South." It received prompt Presidential approval and was publicly announced on November 30. The Committee listed recommended projects embracing a wide range of activities in which the Government was in a position to cooperate, including economic development, transportation, public health, technical assistance, in-service training, and the cultural and informational activities which were the concern of the Division of Cultural Relations, the latter accounting for more than one-third of the proposed budget of $1 million. With approval of its report and program plans the Committee transformed itself into a permanent committee to oversee the Government's coordinated program of cooperation with Latin America. The Department of State, "as the agency responsible for the conduct of foreign relations," was placed in "general charge of the operations of the program" both in Washington and the field. The Bureau of the Budget pared down the original request considerably, and in April 1939 the Committee's first budget request was submitted to Congress in the amount of $496,330 for the fiscal year 1940.[16]

Early in 1939 the Bureau of the Budget reported that it was not possible to recommend to the Congress appropriations for some of the projects until there was suitable "authorizing legislation." On April 13 the President submitted a request to Congress for such authority, which was approved, and on August 9, 1939, the President signed Public Law 355, 76th Congress, "An Act to authorize the President to render closer and more effective the relationship between the American Republics." The Interdepartmental Committee finally received a total appropriation of $370,500 for the 1940 fiscal year.[17]

The Committee which was first known informally as a Committee of Executive Departments and Independent Agencies to Consider the Question of Cooperation with the American Republics, beginning in October of 1938, referred to itself as the Committee on Cooperation with the American Republics, and by November 1938 it took on the name by which it was to be known until the mid-1940's: The Interdepartmental Committee on Cooperation with the American Republics.[18] After that time, until the end of the decade, it became the Interdepartmental Committee on Scientific and Cultural Cooperation.

Since the Department of State was in general charge, the Interdepartmental Committee was always chaired by an officer of the Department, the first chairman being Under Secretary Welles, and its secretariat was staffed and housed in the Department. Its subcommittees which were to become the real action points were chaired by Department officers. It was specifically stipulated that "in regard to cultural and intellectual matters" the Division of Cultural Relations would "serve . . . all branches of the Government . . . as an administrative agency . . . as a clearing house for information, proposals, et cetera," and as "the channel of communications to foreign governments" and "the liaison agency between educational institutions in the other American Republics." Thus all communications with the field about the program were handled by the Department.[19]

The program's annual appropriation was administratively consolidated, with the annual budget request of the Division of Cultural Relations and those of the various other participating Government agencies itemized in a consolidated global budget for submission to the Congress by the Department. The disbursement of the appropriated funds was made under the general supervision of the Secretary of State. The Committee itself was never intended to be an operating mechanism. Rather, the participating branches of the Government, as parts of the Interdepartmental Committee program, were responsible for carrying out individual projects after the annually appropriated funds were distributed.[20]

Through the interagency program of the Interdepartmental Committee, by July 1939, various departments of the Government, operating within the limited agency funds allowed for the loan of experts to Latin American countries, had sent 14 experts and specialists in highway engineering, immigration procedures, tropical agriculture, customs, tariffs and statistical service, commercial policy, taxation, monetary problems, library administration and organization, and patrol boat operation to eight different Latin American countries. There were pending requests or inquiries from 11 countries for the services of approximately another 25 specialists in various fields.[21]

As noted earlier, Cherrington was absent from the Department from late November 1938 to January 1939 attending the Inter-American Conference in Lima, and subsequently visiting a number of Latin American countries. The Lima Conference was held in an atmosphere of crisis never before felt in an Inter-American Conference. Between 1936 and 1938 the Axis Powers were successfully consolidating their plans for the control of Europe and Asia, and Axis propaganda in Latin America grew more menacing day by day. The U.S. Government role in the preparations for the Lima Conference, as in all such inter-American conferences of a political and diplomatic nature, was primarily the work of the Secretary of State and his Latin American offices. In this case the key persons were Hull, Welles, and the stalwarts in charge of the Latin American and international conferences divisions in the Department, notably Laurence Duggan, his three Assistant Chiefs, Ellis O. Briggs, George H. Butler, and Willard L. Beaulac, and Warren Kelchner. The Division of Cultural Relations was consulted and made suggestions with regard to the various cultural proposals that were included in the agenda. Cherrington was one of the advisers accompanying the official U.S. delegation.

The most important result of the Conference was the strong reaffirmation of continental solidarity known as the "Declaration of Lima," by which the 21 American republics agreed that they would defend and maintain the integrity of the republican institutions to which the New World was committed, and that they would regard an attack on any of these nations as an attack on all.[22] Continental solidarity from this time until the end of the war was greater than at any point in the history of inter-American relations. The opportunity for cultivating true and lasting cultural understanding and cooperative relations through unofficial relationships between individuals of the two Americas had reached a similar climax. Many problems and obstacles existed that could not be erased in a day, but under these circumstances the Lima Conference provided new opportunities to reinforce and elaborate upon the cultural agreements that had been signed at Buenos Aires in 1936.

At the Lima Conference, 36 resolutions were adopted to promote cooperation in almost every field of intellectual endeavor, all touchstones for future action. They covered resolutions urging more private exchange fellowships, library exchange, revision of school textbooks, closer cooperation between scientific and cultural institutions and organizations, exchanges in the arts and letters, and more extensive use of radio broadcasting for the purpose of bringing the nations closer together.[23] One of the recommendations approved by the Conference, which had originated in the Division of Cultural Relations, urged "that the American Republics which as yet have not done so ratify the Convention for the Promotion of Inter-American Cultural Relations," and "that those countries which have ratified the Convention, proceed to organize the interchange of graduate students and professors provided for in that agreement." The resolution added "that endowments, scholarships and other resources necessary to make the interchange of students more effective and broader in scope be increased with the aid of interested private and official agencies." [24] Another resolution commended and urged the continued interest shown by private organizations in the United States and in other countries of the continent in directing their activities toward greater progress in cultural interchanges in the Americas, singling out such organizations as the Carnegie Endowment, the Rockefeller Foundation, the Guggenheim Foundation, the Institute of International Education, and others by name. The resolution also appealed to private business concerns, suggesting "to the larger commercial organizations engaged in business in various American countries the establishment of scholarships and the granting of facilities to distinguished students, as is now being done by the W. R. Grace Company and Pan American Airways."[25] Cherrington's attendance at the meeting gave him the opportunity to discuss these matters in person with official representatives of the other countries.

Following the Lima Conference, Cherrington visited the capital cities of all the countries of South and Central America with the exception of Paraguay and Bolivia. He made extensive contacts with representatives of the cultural life in each country, which proved valuable to the Division of Cultural Relations in its later activities. He gave special attention to the cultural institutes in communities where they existed and to discussions with appropriate officials of steps toward implementing the exchanges under the Buenos Aires Convention.[26]

While Cherrington was in Latin America, Pattee as acting chief of the Division of Cultural Relations had instructions to concentrate on the many pending matters and not initiate new projects until his return. Upon his return, Cherrington and his staff pursued vigorously a review of the many suggestions and ideas that had accumulated and the tentative working policies that had been formulated. By mid-February 1939, as noted earlier, the Division for the first time was fully staffed.[27] In the spring of 1939 the Foundation for the Advancement of the Social Sciences extended Cherrington's leave of absence until July 1940, assuring continuity of leadership in setting the program in motion and in getting it permanently underway.[28]

A detailed "Outline of Tentative Program for the Division of Cultural Relations" was formulated by the Division on March 16, 1939.[29] After review by Welles, Duggan, and other officers of the Department, where it was widely circulated, as well as by officers of the Office of Education and the Pan American Union, it was revised as an expanded budget proposal beyond the modest cultural request for Latin America already presented to Congress for the 1940 fiscal year, which was limited to a request for fellowship funds to implement the Buenos Aires Convention. The "Tentative Program" was presented under the following topics: fellowships; university cooperation; travel subsidy; libraries, books, and translations; music and art; informative educational films; cultural institutes; international conferences and celebrations to be held in the United States; "personalized relationships"; study and investigation of propaganda and cultural relations methods; sources of printed information for the Division; organization; and budget. The basic budget items already approved by the Department for implementing professor and student exchanges under the Buenos Aires Convention, and for the translation of official publications of the Department of State, totaled $71,465. Additional tentative budget items included a modest amount for the travel of members of advisory committees; travel of Division staff; shipping costs for educational films; additional personnel for the Division of Cultural Relations; and what at that time appeared to be a substantial amount, $180,306, to supplement the travel costs of intellectual and professional individuals and groups between the United States and the Latin American countries. The previously approved budget and the additional tentative budget totaled $271,802.80. It is clear from this proposal that apart from carrying out the treaty requirements of the Buenos Aires Convention the Division considered as its primary role the stimulation and support of private exchange activities of all types to the extent that they too contributed to the goal of bolstering inter-American understanding and cooperation.

With regard to fellowships, the "Outline" indicated that despite the importance of the official exchanges under the Convention, the major contribution in the field of fellowships should be sought from state universities, normal schools, and private institutions stimulated by appropriate action on the part of the Department. It was suggested that this should be done by enlisting the cooperation of a prestigious private agency, such as the American Council of Learned Societies, to bring this to the attention of the heads of such institutions, with endorsement of the effort through a letter from the Department over the signature of the Secretary of State. This stimulus could then be followed up by personal contacts by officers of the Division of Cultural Relations to secure action on the broad recommendation.

To foster the teaching of Spanish and stimulate U.S. institutions to promote more intensive study of the history and institutions of Latin America, it was proposed that summer schools in nearby Spanish-speaking countries be encouraged through relating institutions in the United States to institutions in countries interested in these activities. It was pointed out that such summer courses should "have a guaranteed continuity and should be organized with the active aid and support of institutions in the United States . . . the role of the Department in this project is principally that of intermediary." Also it was recommended that seminars in Latin American countries for U.S. students and faculty should also be encouraged, "with emphasis on the guidance and orientation which the Department can give while conserving the maximum of freedom of action for the groups involved." A number of examples were given of successful programs of this kind already undertaken through private initiative, including those that had failed or were hard pressed solely for lack of modest supplemental funding.

The most original proposal, from the point of view of direct Government action, was to provide a travel subsidy to promote on a larger scale "serious travel between the two Americas . . . The Department must face the question, it is believed, whether any large-scale travel of the desired groups can be achieved without a Government subsidy from some source." It was felt that "on the basis of experience to date" the rate reductions of some of the private steamship lines were too limited and restrictive. The proposal stated:

> Perhaps no single phase of the work of the Department in the development of cultural relations is more important than the extension of facilities whereby travel, especially between this country and the other American republics, can be encouraged to the very highest degree . . . Any subsidy for the purpose of reducing rates should cover bona fide students and professors, journalists, doctors, dentists, lawyers, artists, scientists, et cetera, travelling abroad for a serious purpose. It should make possible travel by groups of American students and teachers to South and Central American universities for full or summer courses. It should be flexible enough so that it would not be necessary to produce evidence of a year's contract or fulfill other requirements of a similar nature which make impossible travel by all except a restricted few."

An amount of $180,306 was requested for this purpose, with $136,346 of the total for travel of Latin American students to the United States, the latter figure arrived at on the basis of a flat rate of $200 toward the round trip from any Central or South American port to New York.

An innovative proposal in the "Outline," undramatic because not fully appreciated at the time but of basic significance for the future, stated under the heading "personalizing relationships": "One of the most effective means of securing the good will of visiting intellectuals, professors, and students from the other American Republics is through a more direct and personal relationship. Many of these visitors reach the United States with no knowledge of the language and with no personal contacts. Many students find it difficult to secure an entree to American social life and are unable to attain a normal relationship with those among whom they live." It was suggested, therefore, that "It may be advisable to consider the creation in the principal ports of the country—New York, Miami, New Orleans, San Francisco, and possibly in Washington itself—of informal private committees whose function would be to meet and orient distinguished visitors . . . A more concerted effort is needed to improve the social status of Hispanic American students in our universities and colleges." The recommended action included the plan to take full advantage of such opportunities presented by a number of upcoming events such as the fairs at New York and San Francisco in 1939, the Eighth Pan American Scientific Congress to meet in Washington in 1940, and the 50th anniversary of the Pan American Union and the 400th anniversary of the explorations of Coronado being celebrated in the State of New Mexico also in 1940. The report noted: "Advantage may be taken of all these occasions to intensify public interest in cultural relations, and to assist distinguished foreigners visiting the United States to travel widely and establish significant and profitable contacts." It was added that the consulates and missions should be instructed to send adequate advance information about "distinguished visitors" planning to travel to the United States so that the Division could contact them and offer "whatever facilities are appropriate."

With regard to cultural institutes in Latin America established to promote cultural relations between the local community and the United States, the report proposed that this should be encouraged in every way possible but that they should be based on local initiative and funding, adding "The extent to which the Division of Cultural Relations should work with these institutes is a matter for future experience to determine." Cultural institutes were functioning in Lima, Buenos Aires, Rio de Janeiro, and São Paulo, and the formation of others was under discussion in Montevideo, Arequipa, Caracas, Tegucigalpa, and a number of other cities. It was suggested that the United States should proceed cautiously in this area of activity which was being cultivated by Germany and Italy for quite obvious political propaganda.

In stressing the need for greater interchange of books and book translations, it was pointed out that little could be initiated until the ratification by the United States of the 1936 Convention on Interchange of Publications, which was still pending. It was suggested that an appropriation of $29,000 be requested whenever the Convention should be ratified. With regard to the dissemination of informative educational films, the "Outline" emphasized that the main role of the Division was to establish closer cooperative relations with the 16 governmental agencies producing motion picture films, to provide coordinated guidance in determining which films should be sent abroad by these agencies, to determine the respectability of the receiving agencies abroad, and to serve as the channel for the shipping of films to foreign countries and from foreign countries to appropriate agencies for distribution in the United States. A budget of $500 was proposed to cover such shipping charges. The "Outline" stated: "The functions of the division thus relate to distribution, not production. It is concerned with informative educational films, and not with any commercial aspect of the motion picture industry."

On music and art, the "Outline" indicated that the scope of the Division's activities in these fields needed to be thoroughly explored, and that the first step would be the naming of advisory committees for both musical and artistic interchange. The tentative position taken by the Division was stated as follows:

> "There is no doubt but that only the finest talent representative of the United States should be encouraged to tour the other American republics, and that only such talent should receive the attention of the Division. It is also felt that outstanding talent of the other American republics should be encouraged to come to the United States and that the Division should seek to enlist the participation of private agencies in this respect."

As an example, it was indicated that Mischa Elman was planning a benefit tour of South America on behalf of three refugee organizations in the United States and that:

> "Mr. Elman has placed himself at the disposal of the Department, which has agreed to request our missions and consulates in cities where he is to appear to extend him all appropriate courtesies and facilities to make his concerts a success. It is being suggested to our diplomatic officers that they arrange for Mr. Elman to give concerts in our missions when such a course is, in the opinion of the officers, advisable and practical."

The other major budget items in the "Outline" referred to additional personnel and office facilities to pursue increasing clearinghouse and coordinating responsibilities, such as relationships with advisory bodies and cooperating institutions, agencies and individuals here and abroad, facilitating a variety of private exchanges of persons activities, and coordination and support for the exchange of information and ideas through printed literature, radio, and films. A strong justification was presented for an officer for radio matters, an officer for women's affairs, and two stenographers, representing a budget estimate of $10,660. In addition, it was indicated that the Division needed subscriptions to a number of Latin American newspapers and periodicals to be able to answer inquiries from the public intelligently on current events in Latin America, and to do serious research in the Division on the propaganda and cultural relations methods of other governments.

To establish more effective liaison between the Division and the missions abroad, in the "Outline" Cherrington proposed that two Foreign Service officers with extensive experience in Latin American affairs be delegated to serve as counselors in the field, as many posts had expressed a feeling of uncertainty as to what should be attempted locally and how to proceed. The recommendation stated:

> "Following a detailed study in the Division office of every phase of the contemplated program, they would visit the more important centers of Central and South America and the Caribbean, dividing the geographical area between them. They could remain in a given situation long enough to 'coach' local officials on details which are difficult to convey through written memoranda and to cooperate in the inauguration of activities which seem most appropriate."

The idea was to be promptly squelched by officers in the Division of American Republics, as was the earlier suggestion that cultural attachés selected from the private sector be appointed to major Latin American posts to coordinate the work of the Division of Cultural Relations abroad.

Under Secretary Welles agreed heartily with everything in the proposal except this one. It was his judgment that the purpose in view would be better served by enlarging the staff of the Division so that its officers might spend sufficient time in the field to maintain close contacts with the missions and to keep adequately informed on the latest developments in the countries concerned. Welles expressed the view that a large amount of travel would be especially necessary in the early formative period of the Division's work and encouraged an adequate budget request on this item. He also expressed the view that the estimate of $3,800 for officers to cover both radio and women's affairs was too low for the type of individuals needed. Welles and Duggan agreed completely on the personnel needs. Duggan also emphasized the importance of giving moral support to the cultural institutes in Latin America. He gave the highest priority, however, to a more vigorous presentation of the cultural relations program to the educational institutions and the public throughout the United States at once.

Assistant Secretary Messersmith felt that the proposed travel subsidy plan should be studied further. Others felt that activities pertaining to music and art should remain in abeyance for the time being, "to give precedence to more essential work." The matter of educational films was believed by some to be one that should be referred to the Interdepartmental Committee for further study, since so many government agencies were involved. Messersmith, although approving some of the recommendations for future budget requests, including the proposed staff needs, took the position that no enlargement of the exchange program should be contemplated beyond the implementation of the Buenos Aires Convention, as he was confident that the Congress would appropriate funds for the fellowships planned under this program by July 1, 1939.

At the House appropriations hearings on April 12, Assistant Secretary Messersmith emphasized the two major immediate needs, funds for the Buenos Aires Convention grants and related staff needs. He added that in recent discussions with Cherrington he was convinced of the need for personnel beyond the request already before the Subcommittee on Appropriations to include one additional officer for the increasing coordination required in the field of educational and informational radio activities of the Division, and two more clerical personnel for the many requirements in promoting and facilitating increased private activity. Messersmith told the Subcommittee:

> "It is the intent of our Government not to enter into the field extensively on the part of the Government itself, but to stimulate private organizations in this country in these exchanges and to coordinate their activities. We have made very real progress in that direction, and the private institutions in this country in that field have not only welcomed the activities of our Government, but have indicated very definitely that they find them fruitful."

He then summarized the requirements for the exchange of professors and students under the Convention, and the need to correlate similar fellowship programs of private foundations, as well as to encourage publishers to finance more literary exchange, book translations, and the exchange of scientific literature, and to correlate informational, educational, and cultural radio broadcasting.[30]

When the House hearings were continued on April 17,[31] it was evident that the funds requested to implement the Buenos Aires Convention would face no obstacle, whereas some of the other activities had aroused sharp questioning at the hearings on April 12. Thus it is understandable why Assistant Secretary Messersmith, the spokesman of the Department at the hearings, accompanied by Cherrington, preferred not to press for the other budget items at this time. Congressman Louis C. Rabaut of Michigan, a highly respected member of the Appropriations Subcommittee, later to become its chairman, was a staunch supporter of the exchange of persons aspect of the program.

The selection and placement procedures for the fellowships were thoroughly discussed and well received by the Subcommittee. The modest grant cost factors for Latin American students, estimated at $32,090 for 18 grants, were described by Cherrington as follows:

> "We have estimated the average expense for board and room at $1,200 a year. That is for their living expenses, and we have added to that $150 for incidental expenses. The average expense of these scholarships, including travel, maintenance, tuition and incidentals, would come to about $1,700 per student. That is a little lower than the average for the Guggenheim Foundation scholarships. Their average runs a little over $2,000. It also is somewhat lower than the average for the National Research Council, which ranges from about $1,600, for single men, to $2,400 for married men."

Congressman Millard F. Caldwell of Florida received assurance that the visiting students would be scattered pretty generally throughout the country.

Cherrington described the basis for the modest amount allocated for U.S. professor grants, an average of $3,600 for a full calendar year, as follows:

> "We have assumed that the nine professors would be chosen from among the ablest and most representative leaders in the intellectual and educational field in the United States, men who have a command either of the Spanish or Portuguese language. We will thus be following the plan that has been followed by France and other countries. In that connection, we have assumed, and actually have been informally advised by a number of university administrations, that in most instances the professors chosen would be granted a sabbatical leave on half salary, and, therefore, we are providing for what is approximately half salary for each professor. Then we provide for travel expense, and, of course, that varies with the different countries. For example, $200 for transportation would be enough for Haiti, while $700 would be required for Chile. The maintenance expense is estimated on the basis of $8 per day. We have varied from that in the case of Venezuela and Panama because of the higher exchange rates in those countries."

Cherrington continued to press for an appropriation request for some of the additional programs proposed in his "Outline," which was revised and widely circulated in the Department in a 36-page document entitled "Outline of Tentative Program for the Division of Cultural Relations, June 1, 1939." [32] Some of the reactions from those who had reviewed the earlier "Outline," and the sense of congressional comments at the budget hearings were incorporated into the revised "Outline." Cherrington was certain that in carrying out the whole range of activities laid out for the Division, its efforts would soon have relation to nations in all parts of the world, and therefore he sought to convince his colleagues in the Department of the need for additional funds to support new initiatives.[33]

In the June 1 "Outline" greater stress was given to the need to stimulate private initiatives in the awarding of more fellowships and scholarships in addition to the modest number of official exchanges which it was hoped would serve as the model and incentive for expanding the program in keeping with the same high standards of selection. The widest possible distribution of the students throughout the country was also stressed. The "Outline" states:

> ". . . in the interest of facilitating to foreign students the most effective opportunities for complementing their academic studies with the proper social contacts and relationships both within and without the institution of learning where they are stationed, the Division may find it wise to encourage, as far as this is feasible, a widespread distribution geographically of these students in the United States, thus avoiding undue concentration at certain centers, and the accompanying tendency for the students to associate exclusively with their fellow nationals. In the case of such students it is of the greatest importance that wherever possible they be accorded access to social clubs, fraternities and other societies, and to a wide variety of social contacts in the community in which they are living."

The revised outline emphasized and elaborated on all of the items included in the March 16 "Outline" with the exception of the two major proposals to which Welles, Messersmith, and Duggan had taken exception earlier, the travel subsidy proposal and the proposal to appoint two Foreign Service officers as roving cultural envoys.

On June 29, 1939, Congress authorized the first operating budget of $75,000 for the Division of Cultural Relations making it possible at long last to begin implementing the exchange of professors and students under the Buenos Aires Convention in the fiscal year beginning July 1, 1939.[34] Already on hand in the Division was a large number of applications from U.S. students. And in getting ready to receive Latin American students, steps were now taken by the Division at a more accelerated pace to obtain better statistics on the number of foreign students attending universities and colleges in the United States and their distribution throughout the country. Early in July the Office of Education was asked to act as a coordinating agency in compiling this information, with the suggestion that it seek the cooperation of the Institute of International Education, the Committee on Friendly Relations Among Foreign Students, the Pan American Union, and the directors of the International House in Chicago, Berkeley, and New York.[35]

In a memorandum to Cherrington in early June, Laurence Duggan reiterated the importance he attached to assuring a wide distribution of Department-sponsored students from Latin America and their placement in institutions prepared to give them adequate personal attention. He wrote:

> "It is my belief that students from the other American republics will get a far better picture of the United States if they are scattered throughout our educational institutions rather than if they are concentrated in a few institutions where they hobnob with themselves, sometimes to the total exclusion of contact with our own people. Moreover, in the smaller institutions throughout the country there is a greater disposition to take into every aspect of academic life foreign students than there is in the universities located in the great metropolitan centers."

He added, "I know of many instances where a single Latin-American student in a small institution was welcomed into the very bosom of a family," whereas in many of the large institutions "some of these students were never inside an American home, and returned to their countries feeling that the United States was a very inhospitable place." [36] The Department had assured Congress that it would carry out such a policy when it was raised at the recent appropriations hearings.

On August 19, after months of intermittent negotiations, the Department appointed the Office of Education to be its agent for publicizing the Convention among U.S. universities and colleges and for the initial processing of applications.[37] In brief, under the overall supervision of the Department, the preliminary correspondence in the United States in the selection of panels of U.S. candidates would be handled by the U.S. Office of Education, and all communications with the field and the transportation arrangements for the successful candidates would be carried out directly by the Department. U.S. candidates would apply for regular passports, and visa arrangements and related fees would be their individual responsibility. Four days later, the U.S. missions in Latin America were advised by the Department that "with the signature by the President of the Department of State appropriation bill for the 1940 fiscal year, this Government is now prepared to bring into operation the exchanges of graduate students, teachers, and professors provided for in the Convention for the Promotion of Inter-American Cultural Relations." The message outlined the steps to be taken. It was sent not only to the U.S. Embassies or Legations in the 11 countries that, in addition to the United States, had ratified the instrument (Brazil, Chile, Costa Rica, Dominican Republic, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Nicaragua, Panama, Peru, and Venezuela), but also to those in the other countries that had not yet ratified, indicating that although no formal action was yet necessary in the case of the latter, "In your discretion you may, however, find occasion to bring the matter informally to the attention of appropriate officials for their information. At the same time, you may deem it opportune to add an expression of hope that it will soon be found possible to ratify the instrument." The message reiterated the terms of the Convention and requested that the U.S. missions obtain from the signatory governments their proposed procedures for administering and funding their part of the agreement. The message added, "Any information on this subject received by you in reply to your note or otherwise should be transmitted to the Department with as little delay as possible . . ."[38]

Meanwhile, as noted earlier, Public Law 355, passed by the Congress on August 9, 1939, had given the Division of Cultural Relations the authority to use funds appropriated by the Congress for exchange grants with the Latin American countries on a bilateral basis beyond the framework of the Buenos Aires Convention. This was a major landmark in the history of the program, since it opened the way for the broader pattern of exchange grants under which the program was able to grow and prosper under subsequent appropriations, no longer restricted by the limitations of the Convention. Also, the Act authorized the President to create advisory committees to assist in carrying out the program, with provision for per diem and travel for their attendance at meetings, which greatly facilitated the Division's working relationship with the U.S. public in the conduct of the program, since it formalized and facilitated what the Division had already put into effect.[39]

Notes

CHAPTER VI

1. Carbon copy in NA, RG 59, 111.46/1A. A copy of the signed letter, made available to the author by Dr. Cherrington, is included in the appendix.
2. Ben M. Cherrington, *Memoirs*. Unpublished manuscript, pp. 35–40, lent to the author by Dr. Cherrington.
3. Dept. of State Press Releases Nos. 367 and 368, Dept. of State Library; published in *Press Releases*, Dept. of State, XIX (July 30, 1938), pp. 66–67.
4. *Ibid.*, No. 369.
5. *Progress Report of the Division of Cultural Relations, June 1940* [hereinafter cited as *Progress Report*], Dept. of State, Washington, D.C., p. 4, NA, RG 59, WHB, Box 56, and CU/H.

6. *Ibid.*, pp. 4–5.
7. Cherrington, *Memoirs*, pp. 38, 40, 41.
8. *Progress Report*, p. 4; Dept. of State telephone directories, 1941–1942; *Monthly Report of the Division of Cultural Relations*, (May 1942), p.l. Later, as the program expanded under various reorganizations, the offices were moved to a number of different locations until the early 1960's, when the principal offices were lodged in the present State Dept. building, 21st and C Sts., N.W.
9. Murray Lawson, *The United States Information Agency: A History, Origins, 1933–1945*, vol. I, U.S. Information Agency, Washington, D.C., 1970. Unfinished manuscript, vol. 1, ch. 2, p. 16. Copy in CU/H.
10. Cherrington, *Memoirs*, pp. 52–54.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 44.
12. *Progress Report*, pp. 7–9, 39. Exchanges at the high school and undergraduate college student levels were considered to be outside the purview of the Division's new activities. (In the 1930's a number of international youth exchange programs at these levels were initiated with Europe and the Far East. Beginning in 1932, the Experiment in International Living introduced a program with several European countries in which individual boys and girls lived with a family abroad. The directors of the Experiment believed that this kind of face-to-face relationship was an effective means for young people and their hosts to promote mutual understanding and respect between their countries. In 1940 the Experiment initiated programs with Mexico, Colombia, Peru, Cuba, Guatemala, and Brazil. Donald B. Watt, *Intelligence is Not Enough* (Putney, Vt.: The Experiment Press, 1967), pp. 96–106, 137–138, 275; *Progress Report*, p. 54.)
13. Richardson Dougall, "The Interdepartmental Committee on Scientific and Cultural Cooperation," supplement to Helen R. Pinkney's "The Division of Cultural Cooperation," Dept. of State, Dec. 1945, p. 66. NA, RG 59, WHB, Box 10.
14. Lawson, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, ch. 2, pp. 25–29; minutes of "The Meeting on Inter-American Cultural Cooperation, May 23, 1938," *op. cit.*, p. 111.
15. Public Law 63, 76th Cong., made possible the great contribution of the specialized U.S. Government agencies to inter-American technical cooperation under the program of the Interdepartmental Committee on Scientific and Cultural Cooperation. This law and Public Law 355, 76th Cong. (see note 39 below), the legislation which opened the way for the expanded cultural relations program of the Dept. of State, made possible the rapid growth of the inter-American technical and cultural exchange programs in the 1940's. The regulations pertaining to the administration of Public Law 63 are contained in Executive Order 8197 of July 11, 1939, amended with full administrative authority delegated to the Secretary of State in Executive Order 9190, July 2, 1942, copies in NA, RG 353, SCC, Box 13, and CU/H.
16. Lawson, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, ch. 2, pp. 30–32.
17. *Ibid.*, vol. 1, ch. 2, pp. 33–38.
18. Dougall, *op. cit.*, p. 66.
19. *Ibid.*, p. 67; Lawson, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, ch. 2, p. 32.
20. Dougall, *op. cit.*, p. 71.
21. Lawson, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, ch. 3, p. 6.

22. *Report of the Delegation of the United States of America to the Eighth International Conference of American States, Lima, Peru, December 9–27, 1938* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1941), pp. 189–190.
23. *Ibid., passim.*
24. *Ibid.*, p. 161.
25. *Ibid.*, p. 181.
26. *Progress Report*, p. 11.
27. *Ibid.*, pp. 4–6.
28. *Ibid.*, p. 5.
29. NA, RG 353, SCC, Box 2. Statements in the following pages on this basic policy paper, quotes from it, and references to the comments of other government officials to whom it was circulated are based on the "Outline" and the related memoranda referred to, contained in NA, RG 353, SCC, Box 2, and RG 59, WHB, Box 52.
30. *House Hearings, Department of State Appropriation Bill for 1940* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1939), pp. 31–35, 272–284.
31. *Ibid.*, pp. 284–289; the quotes from the hearings that follow are from the pages indicated.
32. NA, RG 59, 11.46/150, in WHB, Box 52.
33. *Ibid.*, pp. 1–2.
34. Public Law 76–156, June 29, 1939, "Department of State Appropriation Act, 1940," 53 Stat. 885.
35. Letter, Charles A. Thomson to John W. Studebaker, July 7, 1939, NA, RG 59, WHB, Box 57.
36. Memorandum, Duggan to Cherrington, June 6, 1939, NA, RG 353, SCC, Box 2.
37. Lawson, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, ch. 2, p. 16.
38. Circular instruction to U.S. diplomatic officers in the American Republics, Washington, D.C., Aug. 23, 1939, NA, RG 59, 810.42711 Student Exchanges/254A, in *ibid.*, WHB, Box 55.
39. Public Law 355, 76th Cong., 1st sess., Aug. 9, 1939. The Act, consisting of two short paragraphs, reads as follows:

> "To authorize the President to render closer and more effective the relationship between the American republics.
>
> "*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled.* That in order to render closer and more effective the relationship between the American republics the President of the United States is hereby authorized, subject to such appropriations as are made available for the purpose, to utilize the services of the departments, agencies, and independent establishments of the Government in carrying out the reciprocal undertakings and cooperative purposes enunciated in the treaties, resolutions, declarations, and recommendations signed by all of the twenty-one American republics at the Inter-American Conference for the Maintenance of Peace held at Buenos Aires, Argentina, in 1936, and at the Eighth International Conference of American States held at Lima, Peru, in 1938.
>
> "Sec. 2. The President is authorized to create such advisory committees as in his judgment may be of assistance in carrying out the

undertakings of this Government under the treaties, resolutions, declarations, and recommendations referred to, but no committee or member thereof shall be allowed any salary or other compensation for services: *Provided, however.* That they may, within the limits of appropriations made available therefor by the Congress, which appropriations are hereby authorized, be paid their actual transportation expenses and not to exceed $10 per diem in lieu of subsistence and other expenses while away from their homes in attendance upon meetings within the United States under instructions from the Secretary of State.

"Approved, August 9, 1939."

This Act, which includes specific authority for the Department of State to carry out educational and cultural exchanges as agreed to at the Inter-American Conferences held at Buenos Aires in 1936 and Lima in 1938, subject to appropriations made available for the purpose, was never repealed and therefore remains in effect. In subseqeunt years, other legislation much broader in scope was passed by Congress, enabling the Department to extend the program worldwide and expand its activities.

CHAPTER VII

The Program Underway

On July 1, 1939, with program funds available for the first time, the Division of Cultural Relations was able to begin its first year of active Government-sponsored program operations. Prior to that time the basic principles and purposes of the program had been publicly enunciated, but it was largely the educational and cultural sectors that were being reached. Now the accepted principles set forth at the congressional budget hearings for the 1940 fiscal year (July 1, 1939 to June 30, 1940) were made known more widely and elaborated upon in public addresses, State Department press releases, and articles disseminated in a variety of professional and popular publications reaching the widest possible audience throughout the country and picked up in publications abroad, in Latin America, and elsewhere. Both the press and the radio were used to a greater extent.

By this time Hitler was ready to carry out his plans for the blitzkrieg to overpower Europe. In 1939 and 1940 his conquests were coming fast and easy, and the Reich appeared invincible. His stunning successes in Europe, regardless of the means, created large groups of admirers in some of the Latin American countries. He was to tell his generals on August 22, 1939, "I shall shake hands with Stalin within a few weeks on the common German-Russian border."[1] On September 1 Poland was invaded. Two days later Britain and France declared war on Germany. By June 1940, with the fall of France, Hitler had brought all of Western Europe to its knees. As the world seemed to be heading for debacle, the United States was now looked upon by the Latin American nations as the champion and hope of peace, and hemispheric solidarity became the dominant theme of inter-American cooperation. The President and the leaders in the Department of State, at least, recognized that the central importance of Latin America to the national security made it imperative that the United States counter the aggressive propaganda activities of Germany with a more vigorous program of its own with respect to the Latin American countries. This was the atmosphere in which the Division of Cultural Relations found itself in 1939 and 1940 as it outlined its purposes more fully to the public in implementing its officially sponsored cultural program.

The philosophy of the cultural relations program by now had crystallized into a set of basic concepts and policies. These were enunciated in several of the major public addresses by Secretary Hull, Under Secretary Welles, and Dr. Cherrington, the Chief of the Division of Cultural Relations, in the period between the spring and fall of 1939.

Speaking before the National Convention of the Daughters of the American Revolution on April 19, Cherrington emphasized the importance of building the program on person-to-person relationships based on the voluntary interest and initiative of the people themselves. He stated:

> "We do not establish strong ties with others by exchanging culture in general, but rather by sharing some interest or activity which has rich meaning for each of us. Here we have the clue as to the method we must employ in cultural exchange and intellectual co-operation between ourselves and our neighbors. People having common interests here and there must be brought into effective relationships with each other, enabling them to freely interchange their experiences and achievements. It is out of such exchange of interests and pooled endeavors that enduring friendships arise . . . It need hardly be said that the Division will not supplant or infringe upon the activities of private agencies, for a program of cultural relations that is true to the traditions and instincts of our country will always originate with the people themselves."[2]

In an address before the national convention of the National Education Association in San Francisco on July 6, Cherrington summarized the Division's basic philosophy and goals by stating from the policy memorandum he had written a month earlier entitled "Outline of Tentative Program . . .":

> "It is not a propaganda agency, in the popular sense of the term which carries with it implications of penetration, imposition, and unilateralism. If its endeavors are to be directed toward the development of a truer and more realistic understanding between the peoples of the United States and those of other nations, it is believed that such a goal can most surely be attained by a program which is definitely educational in character and which emphasizes the essential reciprocity in cultural relations . . ."[3]

Secretary Hull, in addressing a large group of educators on November 9, on this same theme, emphasized the role of educators and intellectuals. He said:

> "The present moment is unusually happy for developing to the fullest the contributions which each of us in the American

> family can make to the others . . . Never has there been greater realization that each of us has much to contribute to the other; never has there been greater mutual respect or greater comprehension. For that very reason it is clearer to all of us than ever before that the relations among our nations must not rest merely on the contacts between diplomat and diplomat, political leader and political leader, or even between businessman and businessman. They must rest also on contacts between teacher and teacher; between student and student; upon the confluence of streams of thought, as well as upon more formalized governmental action and constructive business activity . . . In the American republics, the intellectual plays a part of first importance in the national life. The poet, the scholar, and the teacher are likely to be found not only in universities and in cultural circles but in places of diplomatic and political responsibility . . . Our own country can afford to learn many lessons in this respect . . . Though governments can help, this is not a task for government alone, but for all of us. The teachers, the men of science and learning throughout the new World . . ."[4]

At this same meeting Under Secretary Welles emphasized that the Department's role in relation to the private sector in the conduct of most of the country's cultural relations programs at home and abroad was that of the junior partner, with each having its own distinctive and complementary role. He stated:

> "In the field of cultural relations, the Department of State has already enlisted the services of a number of distinguished leaders to form a permanent advisory committee for consultation on questions covering such matters; it is anticipated that a number of subcommittees will be created to advise on certain phases of the program . . . the Division of Cultural Relations [is] essentially a clearinghouse, a coordinating agency, whose purpose it is to collaborate in every appropriate way without trespassing upon and much less supplanting your activities . . ."

He added:

> "The creation of this new Division in the Department has served to coordinate the interest in cultural matters of the officers of the Foreign Service of the United States stationed at embassies, legations, and consulates throughout the world and particularly in the other American republics. Generally speaking, the central governments in the American republics are more actively engaged in strictly cultural activities than is the Government of the United States; in order for you to obtain or exchange information in regard to these activities, contact with Ministries of Public Instruction and with Ministries of Foreign Affairs is often essential. We therefore are justified in hoping that you will turn to us whenever official cooperation may be useful or desirable."[5]

In emphasizing the long-term character and goals of the program Vice President Wallace wrote, in an article published in the *New York Times Magazine*, July 9:

> "If in the future we think in terms of science, of management, of cultural understanding and of the nature of the entire hemisphere, our relations with Latin America may well prove to be of the utmost significance for our children and our grandchildren. If we in the United States do as much toward learning Spanish and understanding Latin American culture as the Latin Americans are doing today toward learning English and understanding North American culture, I have no fear as to the triumph of peace and democracy in this hemisphere for many centuries to come." [6]

And in an address before the Commonwealth Club of San Francisco on October 27 he said:

> "In advocating Pan-Americanism as a dominant feature in our national policy for the future, I do not wish to obscure the fact that an Old World upset by Communism, Fascism, and Nazism is bound to have the most serious repercussions on all of the Americas, the United States included . . . we know that the day will inevitably come when these systems will bring the utter misery which is inherent in them. Then it will be up to us in the New World, in a sensible, practical fashion and not in a premature idealistic way, to help them out of their trouble. . . . Our task, in co-operation with the twenty Latin-American republics, is to do a first-class job of laying a foundation for democracy on this hemisphere—for the kind of democracy that will conserve our soil and people for thousands of years to come." [7]

In the late summer of 1939 the Division of Cultural Relations spent considerable time in the study of what its course should be in the event of direct U.S. involvement in the war. Out of these deliberations came a series of decisions, approved by the Department's top policymaking officers. The main points were, first, to avoid the natural tendency during war to expand disproportionately a program of cultural relations, which could create an undesirable reaction on a return to normal relations at the termination of the war. Second, the Division should be divorced from such propaganda activities as the Government might find necessary during the war. Third, long-range activities should be the preoccupation of the Division. Fourth, with Europe cut off, increased travel between the United States and the Latin American countries should result, and the Division should seek to make the trips of professional, educational and cultural leaders as purposeful as possible. At the same time, facilities should be developed in the United States for the type of research and advanced study which Latin Americans had hitherto secured in Europe. Fifth, the occasion should be seized to accelerate opportunities for U.S. citizens to become better informed regarding the life and achievements of their neighbors to the south. Sixth, the basic principles on which the Division was operating should be maintained in their essence.[8]

To obtain the fullest possible nationwide cooperation from educators and leaders in the professional, intellectual, and cultural life of the country at this important turning point, plans were made by the Division in the spring and summer of 1939, in close consultation with the General Advisory Committee, and with the cooperation of the Office of Education, to hold a representative national conference on inter-American relations in Washington. Following months of careful planning, a series of four 2-day conferences was held in October and November of 1939 in the fields of education, art, music, publications, and libraries.[9] Approximately 1,000 educators and professional and cultural leaders throughout the country, including representatives of the major educational and cultural organizations and institutions, and a distinguished array of leading Hispanic scholars, attended the conference, all at their own expense. The results accomplished were equally impressive. It was indeed the highlight of the program in the second half of 1939, as it spurred a vigorous nationwide, multirelated partnership with the private sector through which major aspects of the future program were to be built, and set in motion a number of specific program activities.

To provide those attending the fall conferences with background information on the status of inter-American cultural activities in the United States, a comprehensive survey was made under the sponsorship of the National Committee of the United States of America on International Intellectual Cooperation with a grant of $1,000 from the Carnegie Corporation. The findings were published in September 1939. The volume contained descriptive listings of official and unofficial organizations engaged in inter-American cultural relations, and sections on special types of sponsorship and activity such as student and professor exchanges; Latin American studies in universities and colleges; centers of inter-American study; foundations; learned, scientific, and professional societies; libraries; book and periodical exchange; art; music; theater; folk drama; films and photography; radio; press; and travel. It was the most comprehensive survey of this type to date and was a valuable reference for those involved in this work.[10]

In reviewing the names of those attending the meetings it would be difficult to recall in any recent period a more representative gathering of nationally recognized leaders in their respective fields. The largest of the series was the one in November devoted to inter-American relations in the field of education. It brought together more than 600 college and university presidents, administrative officers, and other educational leaders from 46 states. They included the nation's leaders in education, publishing, the medical professions, and a number of specialized fields of training.

Secretary Hull and Under Secretary Welles spoke at the opening sessions and Assistant Secretaries of State presided over other sessions. They all stressed that the Department's role was solely to coordinate and assist a private national effort. Assistant Secretary Messersmith pointed out that in the creation of the Division of Cultural Relations it was clearly not the intention of the Government to set up a "ministry of propaganda." He stated that the division in no sense wished to engage in a field in which other agencies of the Government were already working, nor in any way to let anything interfere with the initiative and the work being done by private institutions and organizations.

Among the keynote speakers, Dr. Herbert E. Bolton, head of the Department of History at the University of California and one of the leading Latin American historians in the United States, outlined the historical forces and common experiences uniting the Americas and described the rich cultural heritage of Latin America. He indicated that the answer to the central question of sharing the fabulous cultural resources of the hemisphere would be to "get acquainted." Speaking in a lower key, Dr. James T. Shotwell, dean of U.S. experts in the history of international relations, but not a Latin Americanist as were most of his listeners, cautioned the group that they should keep clearly in mind that both North and South America had other cultural contacts, adding: "Because there is thunder on our left this morning, we must maintain our poise by keeping in proper perspective the general catholicity of culture." Father O'Hara, President of the University of Notre Dame, said, "We must avoid rash experimentation which could conceivably set us back 50 years in planning expanded exchange programs."

Dr. Samuel F. Bemis, the distinguished U.S. diplomatic historian, pointed out that once misunderstanding had given way to confidence, the U.S. citizen would find in his southern neighbor no truer or more enthusiastic friend. He said that the few U.S. visiting professors in Latin America were doing yeoman work in allaying suspicion and building good will among those they contacted. Dr. George F. Zook, President of the American Council on Education, said that the United States would not fully know its neighbors until firsthand impressions of them were brought to the little red schoolhouse. He noted that it was less the official relationship of government to government than the essential understanding of the interdependence of the people of one section of the world upon the people of another section. Dr. Duggan paid tribute to the U.S. colleges and universities which he said had provided 52 scholarships for Latin American graduate students within the past year. He predicted an increase to 100 or more through the contributions of U.S. businessmen who had pledged their support.

As the conference proceeded all the goals Department officials had enunciated were endorsed, and many of the recommendations adopted were to help shape or reshape patterns and techniques for the future. It was essentially a discussion and endorsement of the major items that had been on the agenda of the Division of Cultural Relations since its beginning.

The education conference was divided into six discussion groups on the following subjects: the stimulation of greater exchange of students, teachers, and professors; the strengthening of inter-American studies in the United States; problems involving the adjustment of students from abroad; possibilities of more effectively acquainting the United States with scholars and writers in the Latin American countries through publications; cooperative projects in the field of medical education and research; and curriculum materials for Latin American studies and teacher exchange at the primary and secondary school level. During the course of the discussions a wide variety of suggestions were made in the framework of these topics. The recommendation that educational attachés should be appointed to diplomatic posts in Latin America to keep in touch with other Government cultural activities was not included in the final conference reports.

Dr. Edgar J. Fisher, Assistant Director of the Institute of International Education, spearheaded the recommendations for deans and advisers of students, and directors of international houses and hospitality centers, which were of special long-range significance as they were the real beginning of a systematic designation of foreign student advisers on U.S. university campuses. The members of this group cautioned that exchanges with Latin America should not be increased too rapidly because of the abnormal situation in Europe. In addition to recommendations for better advance orientation abroad for foreign students and for provisions "to meet the students upon their arrival, both in this country and upon the university and college campus," it was affirmed that: "without seeming to set off the foreign student as a separate group, but with the realization that they should be integrated normally as soon as possible with the student body, we believe that the transition period to the new academic and community environment calls for special counseling, including a special adviser, with faculty and student committees . . . experience proves the value of facilitating the attendance of foreign students upon [*sic*] student conferences . . ."

The group concerned with medicine and allied fields, representing the major medical organizations, discussed hospitality for visiting professional colleagues, educational interchange, dissemination of scientific information, recognition of professional degrees for educational purposes, and plans for the forthcoming Eighth American Scientific Congress.

The various divisions of the education conference formed Continuation Committees to follow up on their recommendations, including one representing the entire conference which met on February 2 and 3, 1940, in Washington. The meeting, chaired by George F. Zook, President of the American Council on Education, was attended by 26 representatives from the private sector and 7 Government officials. They endorsed the following recommendations of the education conference groups:

1. That the responsibility for developing additional fellowship opportunities be assumed by the Institute of International Education.
2. That the Division of Cultural Relations be responsible for requesting appropriate private organizations to carry out the recommendations of the conference with respect to the stimulation of Latin American studies at the various scholastic levels.
3. That the administration of orientation and adjustment programs for foreign students be delegated to the continuation committee organized to pursue this subject, under Dr. Fisher, and carried out under the aegis of the Institute of International Education.
4. That recommendations in the fields of publications and libraries, medical education, agricultural education, and other fields and related activities be pursued with persons who had participated in continuation committees for specific followup recommendations from them.

The question as to whether or not the Continuation Committees should be made permanent to advise the Division of Cultural Relations in their respective fields was then discussed. The State Department attitude toward the formulation of policy in the field of cultural relations, Cherrington emphasized, was that it must be the program of the people of the United States and not of the Government. The Government could be helpful and could assist, he said, but the development of the program of cultural relations should arise from the people and their institutions. As a result of the discussion a motion was passed that the Temporary Continuation Committee of the Conference be dissolved and that the correlation of inter-American activities be referred to the General Advisory Committee of the Division of Cultural Relations. It was also recommended that the Advisory Committee be enlarged to become more widely representative, including one or two representatives of business active in the other American republics. The recommendations were accepted by the Department, and the role of the Advisory Committee in formulating the Division's program policies was thereby strengthened through this endorsement which reflected the broad national representation at the conferences.

The conference in the field of art was attended by approximately 130 persons. In his opening remarks Assistant Secretary Adolph Berle noted that in December of the previous year some 30 publishing houses of the country called upon the Department to cooperate in arranging for three book exhibitions in South America. They were held in Buenos Aires, Montevideo, and Rio de Janeiro. Three collections of over 2,200 volumes each were donated by the publishers to each country. At Buenos Aires over 1,000 persons a day viewed the exhibit, where lectures were held on U.S. thought and writing, and at Rio popular interest warranted extension of the exhibit beyond the original 2-week period. The Department facilitated this private initiative through Embassy arrangements for receipt of the books abroad, arrangements for the local exhibits, publicity, and other indirect forms of cooperation. Berle believed that the arts offered similar opportunities.

The museum directors, artists, and art critics attending the conference agreed to assist fully the exchange of exhibitions between the United States and Latin American countries, a number of which were already scheduled under private auspices, and urged inclusion of artists, art historians, and art research workers in the total group of students, teachers, and professors under the Buenos Aires Convention exchanges. With European exchange opportunities closed, it was pointed out that opportunities for closer inter-American ties were practically unlimited. A Continuation Committee was established to follow up with the Department on action proposals.

The conference on music, attended by approximately 125 persons, was considered to be the most representative gathering of this kind ever held in the Americas. It brought forth a long list of projects for exchanges in music, including exchange of persons, music publications, concerts, music libraries, and bibliographies, and use of radio and motion pictures for music presentations in the United States and Latin America. With encouragement from the Department a Continuation Committee was organized. This Committee met twice in the spring of the following year and outlined a plan for an Inter-American Music Center to be established as a permanent division of the Pan American Union, recommending that it seek funds for its support from private foundations. The Committee also voted to sponsor a 4-month survey trip by its Vice Chairman, Carleton Sprague Smith, to South America during the summer of 1940 with travel funds provided by the American Council of Learned Societies.

The fourth conference, on publications and libraries, was the second largest, with approximately 250 persons in attendance, representing leading publishing houses, university presses, public and special libraries, journals, magazines, and newspapers. They discussed ways in which the communications media could contribute to the cultural goals of the Department. As in the case of the other groups a Continuation Committee was appointed which framed the basic patterns pursued by the Division of Cultural Relations in the communications media in the ensuing years.

By now the purposes and goals of the Department's cultural relations program were well understood in the public mind, and as the months went by the private sector assumed an increasingly important role. As understood at that time, they were summarized very succinctly by a Department spokesman early in 1940 when he said:

> "The role of governments in promoting friendly individual relations among people is necessarily limited. We have no 'official culture' to sell to any of our neighbors. The idea, in fact, of an official culture is repugnant to us, and it would be equally repugnant to them. In the field of human association the role of a government is to encourage, to cooperate, and to coordinate private initiative and the initiative of institutions seeking to broaden the base of cultural appreciation." [11]

While the national conferences on inter-American cultural relations were the highlight of the period from July 1, 1939, to June 30, 1940, there were other specific program accomplishments worthy of special mention. These covered such fields of activity as art, music, education, publications and libraries, informative educational motion pictures, radio, travel, addresses and articles by officers of the Division, cooperation with private, semipublic, and official agencies, relations with cultural institutes abroad, and relations with foreign missions in the United States and the Foreign Service. Since program funds were available only for academic exchanges under the

Buenos Aires Convention, the other exchange activities of the Division involved services and leadership to stimulate and correlate the national effort along the lines endorsed at the recent inter-American cultural conferences.[12]

In the field of art the Division cooperated with museums through advice and counsel in the formulation of plans for various exhibits of paintings, some of which were circulated to a number of cities throughout the United States, representing various Latin American countries, notably Argentina and Mexico, in collaboration with U.S. museums, the Pan American Union, and the Hispanic Foundation of the Library of Congress. In music, similar facilitative assistance was provided, including preliminary contacts with the field, and arrangements for concerts at American Embassies and Legations. These included the benefit tours by Mischa Elman to various South American countries in the spring and summer of 1939, and visits by the pianist Elizabeth Travis and orchestral conductor George Hoyen who appeared with success in Argentina, Uruguay, and Chile. Jascha Heifetz initiated an extensive concert tour in March 1940, and arrangements were also facilitated for the trip to Panama, Colombia, Ecuador, and Peru by the glee club of the Riverdale Country School in July and August 1940. Services were also given to the planning and overseas arrangements for the tours of South America by Toscanini and the NBC orchestra, and Stokowski and the American Youth Orchestra. The Department report on these very successful tours stated "the Division has endeavored to avoid any move which would indicate preference for either aggroupation [*sic*], or which would imply sponsorship by the Department."[13] Instructions were also sent the posts for the trips to South America of the danseuse Ruth Draper and the Yale Glee Club.

In the field of education, the top priority was implementation of the Buenos Aires Convention. The Division had resolved one of its principal worries about early implementation of the Convention, the fear that the reciprocity indicated in the language of the agreement would require that each country simultaneously exchange two graduate students and a professor with the proposed exchange necessarily lapsing if a country were not able to comply on a reciprocal basis in a given year. The legal office in the Department had resolved the problem in a memorandum to the Division, dated June 15, 1939 which stated:

> "In the instant case it is to be considered that we are dealing with a novel subject, that the Convention has been in force between any two countries for a comparatively brief period, and that some countries parties thereto are perhaps not in a

> very good position to comply promptly with the obligations assumed in the Convention . . . Therefore I should regard it as at least premature for the United States to insist at this time upon the *complete* fulfillment of the obligations of another contracting party. However, if such other party completely neglects its obligations or for two or more successive years fulfills such obligations only in part . . . the United States would be justified in taking notice of the failure and acting accordingly on its part." [14]

After working out the expenditure details with the Office of the Comptroller General, on August 23 the Department sent a circular instruction to the field announcing that funds were now available to initiate the program and outlining the steps to be taken by the posts; and the Office of Education began circularizing U.S. universities and colleges in September. By October and November applications were being received by the Office of Education, and the Committee on Exchange Fellowships and Professorships, headed by Stephen Duggan, held four meetings between November 1939 and March 1940 in its capacity as a Committee on Selection to evaluate the applications received. In November the Office of Education reported that it had sent leaflets outlining the procedures to 976 colleges, universities, and professional schools and 117 to educational organizations; 1,600 leaflets and 300 application blanks for professorships; and 1,800 leaflets and 500 blanks for student scholarships. By June 1940 panels of candidates were sent to Brazil, Chile, Peru, and Venezuela.

The private exchange programs with Latin American countries for which the Division provided guidance and assistance proliferated during this period of curtailed travel to Europe. On September 5, 1939, the Institute of International Education had circulated a notice to the effect that appointments to fellowships and assistantships to study in Europe under the auspices of the Institute were no longer available in view of the war situation. Others were urged not to go to Europe with the advice that the U.S. Government was now issuing passports only for emergency purposes. Only a handful of privately funded student fellowships to Europe were still being processed for the fall of 1939.[15]

Private programs, facilitated by the Division included cooperative industrial fellowships of several months' duration, provided for Chilean and Peruvian students of engineering by W. R. Grace and Company in conjunction with the General Electric Company, Ingersoll-Rand, and E. I. Dupont de Nemours and Company. Also, in 1939, a group of 10 Chilean engineers were taken into the plants of the following companies for training: Westinghouse Electric International Company, Baldwin Locomotive Works, Bethlehem Steel Company, General Motors Corporation, Carrier Corporation, and Standard Oil of New Jersey. Professor F. M. Menefee of the University of Michigan originated the so-called "summer industrial scholarships" under which students of engineering from Latin American countries who could not return home during the summer and had no means of supporting themselves until the reopening of the school year would be taken temporarily into manufacturing plants for practical experience. Several companies joined in the plan. Through the initiative of the American Engineering Council, the Farm Equipment Institute, which conducted a week's travel seminar for U.S. students and professors to farm equipment manufacturing plants in the Middle West, invited several Latin American students recommended by the Division to join in the seminar. Medical internships and research fellowships were provided to a few Latin American doctors at hospitals and medical schools through the efforts of the American Medical Association and the Pan American Sanitary Bureau with facilitative cooperation from the Division.

The U.S. Office of Education and the American Council on Education cooperated in making available educational catalogs and publications for distribution to Latin American educational institutions through the U.S. diplomatic missions. New seminars, summer schools, summer visits, and field trips were organized by U.S. universities and private organizations in a number of Latin American countries, including the Universities of California, Northwestern, Columbia, and Harvard; the Institute of International Education; the General Federation of Women's Clubs; the Experiment in International Living; the Pan American Student Forum; and the World Federation of Education Associations Travel Bureau, Inc. Summer sessions with special offerings in Latin American studies and special institutes grew in number, sponsored by universities and community organizations throughout the United States.

During these pioneering years the Division played a creative role in the development of culturally related programs of the Interdepartmental Committee, for which the Department served as the secretariat. Equally important, it took on the challenging but less satisfying responsibility of coordinating the various Government agencies represented on the Interdepartmental Committee. This work was always beset by budget, legal, and policy problems. The least complicated were the activities relating to the culturally oriented agencies such as the Library of Congress and the Smithsonian Institution. In the field of publications and libraries, Congress finally ratified the Buenos Aires Convention on Interchange of Publications on August 1, 1939, and the Convention was approved by the President on August 14. The Library of Congress had been given the responsibility to move forward on this front. On April 26, 1939, a Subcommittee on Translations was established to assist the Division in selecting available Government publications that might be useful for distribution in Latin America. The Chief of the Translating Office of the Department of State was named chairman of the subcommittee, which included representatives from the Library of Congress, Smithsonian Institution, Department of Agriculture, and Public Health Service.

Ways and means of utilizing educational motion pictures and radio in furthering cultural relations provided much more complex problems of coordination and policy which involved an enormous amount of time and energy from the Interdepartmental Committee. This group shaped the course of action taken by the various agencies which in their respective specialized areas had been playing an important role in these fields for some years.

Prior to 1939 there was no clear policy defining jurisdiction across the board with regard to Government agency activity in the motion picture field. The Departments of Agriculture, Interior, Commerce, and others had become accustomed to dealing directly in these matters. The Department's view prevailed to the effect that the Division of Cultural Relations should be primarily responsible for the control of cultural materials sent out through Government channels whether they emanated from a Government agency or from private sources. At a meeting of the Interdepartmental Committee held on April 26, 1939, a resolution was approved to the effect that "matters having to do with the exhibition in foreign countries of government and government-sponsored motion pictures and the exhibition in the United States, through United States Government channels, of foreign educational films shall continue to be handled in the first instance by the Division of Cultural Relations . . ."

The Division began the Department's work in respect to motion pictures by seeking information, guidance, and help from other agencies in the Government and from private organizations in the field of educational films. In view of the ramifications and extent of the problems involved, the chairman of the Interdepartmental Committee appointed a Subcommittee on Motion Pictures which first met on June 13, 1939. Acting under instructions the representatives of the Department stressed the Department's interest in distribution only, and solely for cultural purposes, and its opinion that it was a matter to be handled by the Department where Government-made or sponsored films were to be displayed abroad.

An Interdivisional Committee on Government Distribution was created by Departmental order on August 2, 1939, to review and evaluate U.S. films as to suitability for transmission through Government channels for display abroad, or, in the case of foreign-made films, in this country. The establishment of this Committee formalized procedures already being carried out. During the period between April 1939 and March 1940, officers of the Department previewed and evaluated 132 Government-made informational educational motion pictures and 17 film strips prepared by nine Government agencies, and distributed through its missions in Latin America 42 prints (75 reels) of Government-made motion pictures. Pictures were shown in Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Cuba, Mexico, Paraguay, and Uruguay. During the period the Department authorized other Government agencies and private organizations to distribute a selected number of films abroad. But obviously the pictures produced by the various Government agencies were vehicles for the diffusion of specialized information in such fields as agriculture, geology, public health, and the like. None of them were made for foreign audiences. As the Division stated in June 1940, it was in effect "endeavoring to use available motion pictures for a purpose for which they were not intended." The matter continued to be a major concern on the Division's agenda.

On April 26, 1939, an Interdepartmental Subcommittee on Radio was established, but the Division was really unable to focus on radio broadcasting as a part of its official cultural effort until the request for a full-time officer on the staff for this purpose was finally granted by Congress in the regular appropriation bill of the Department of State for the 1941 fiscal year.

One of the quiet operations which demanded considerable time on the part of the Division's staff, and perhaps as important as any other activity, was the day-to-day work in facilitating hospitality for distinguished foreign visitors and services for U.S. citizens traveling abroad for cultural purposes. It involved cooperation not only with the individuals but with scores of private organizations and groups sponsoring such activities. Considerable time was spent without satisfactory results in exploring ways to reduce steamship fares for student and professor groups, for which there was a steady flow of requests from the private sector. The existing rates were virtually prohibitive to persons of limited means in the Latin American countries with devalued currencies. The steamship companies confused the issue by contending that travel to and from Latin America was handicapped by fear of the public to travel by sea at that time. As a matter of fact the Department was issuing passports as usual and there was no Government pronouncement to the effect that they were not readily obtainable.

In summarizing the Division's achievements during this period, Cherrington noted in a memorandum to Welles dated April 16, 1940,

> "The primary efforts of the Division of Cultural Relations during the past year and a half have been the stimulation within the United States of increased cultural cooperation and exchange with the other American republics . . . It would seem that the time has arrived to devote increasing attention to contacts with the governments and private agencies in the other American republics." [16]

To give greater impetus to the entire effort the Division obviously needed funds for purposes other than those of the Buenos Aires Convention. Cherrington emphasized this, with specific recommendations, in memoranda to Welles of May 27, 1940. He stated:

> "The critical character of the emergency seems to call for a quickening tempo in the development of cultural relations on many fronts. It is not possible to rely entirely upon an evolutionary development of the programs but such short time activities as are launched in response to immediate necessity as far as possible should be related to long range purposes. The broad objective toward which the entire program should point is to clarify, broaden, and deepen the community of interest among the cultural and intellectual groups of the American nations. Morale and esprit, both national and inter-American, will be strengthened in proportion as this objective is realized." [17]

He stated that the program should go forward in harmony with the two basic principles on which the Department had been operating: partnership between the Government and private initiative, with the Government as the junior partner, and careful observance of the spirit of reciprocity in relating to the Latin American countries. But he emphasized that the Government was hindered in its efforts by lack of necessary funds. He added, "The finances provided by the Government would be in limited amounts, in some instances possibly on a matching basis and undoubtedly would be multiplied many times by money from private sources." [18] He proposed funds for the exchange of economists, journalists, and intellectuals; and specialists in agriculture, medicine and public health, science, social welfare, art, and music.

The congressional appropriations for the cultural relations program for the 1941 fiscal year, beginning July 1, 1940, for the first time included funds for a broader, more flexible exchange program with the Latin American countries, the kind of program the Division had been seeking. It was still modest, but it set the stage for the war years and the years to follow. It carried the program activities beyond the limits of the few academic exchanges authorized under the Buenos Aires Convention. At the same time funds were also made available for the array of interrelated programs that the Interdepartmental Committee for Cooperation with the American Republics had devised after more than a year of planning, under the overall direction of the Division of American Republics in the Department, which provided its secretariat with participation by the Division.

An amount of $94,500 was provided for student and professor exchanges under the Buenos Aires Convention, compared to $75,000 appropriated the previous year, the increased amount to cover exchanges with additional countries expected to be ready to participate. In addition, $69,000 was provided for grants to distinguished leaders, travel grants to professors and students to and from Latin America outside the framework of the Buenos Aires Convention, and for travel expenses of advisory committees. For the loan of Government experts and technicians to other governments and related costs, an amount of $261,500 was authorized by the Congress. Although the appropriation for these and related activities broadly classified as "cultural relations" was about one-half of the budget originally presented by the Department to Congress, it totaled $508,620. Of this amount, $236,500 was for transfer from the Department to other Government departments and agencies for programs of the Interdepartmental Committee.[19]

On June 20, 1940, Cherrington, who had been given a 2-year leave of absence from the University of Denver, submitted his resignation, effective June 28. His deputy, Charles A. Thomson, was appointed to succeed him. Secretary Hull, in his letter to Cherrington, commended him for "a real contribution to the furtherance of our cultural relations with the peoples of other lands," and asked him to serve as a member of the Division's General Advisory Committee, an invitation Cherrington accepted.[20] Thomson continued as chief of the Division throughout the war, and Cherrington remained on the Advisory Committee. Cherrington had laid the groundwork, shaping the basic purposes and principles for carrying out the program, and giving it the sense of "mission" that was to characterize the enterprise during the war years.

Notes

CHAPTER VII

1. John L. Snell, *Illusion and Necessity, The Diplomacy of Global War, 1939–1945* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1963), p. 32.
2. Ben M. Cherrington, "Cultural Ties That Bind in the Relations of the American Nations," *Hispania*, XXII (Oct. 1939), pp. 246–247.
3. *Id.*, "The Role of Education in International Cultural Relations," *Department of State Bulletin* [hereinafter cited as *Bulletin*], I (July 8, 1939), p. 21.
4. Address by Cordell Hull at the Conference on Inter-American Relations in the Field of Education, Washington, D.C., *Bulletin*, I (Nov. 11, 1939), pp. 490–491.
5. *Ibid.*, pp. 492–493.
6. Quoted in Russell Lord, ed., *Henry A. Wallace, Democracy Reborn* (New York: Reynal and Hitchcock, 1944), pp. 160–161.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 161.
8. *Progress Report of the Division of Cultural Relations, June 1940* [hereinafter cited as *Progress Report*], Dept. of State, Washington, D.C., pp 13–14.
9. The basic sources of information on these meetings, as described in this chapter, are: *Progress Report*, pp. 14–36; the reports on the various meetings published in *Bulletin*, I (Oct. 14, 1939), pp. 361–366; *ibid.* (Oct. 21, 1939), pp. 408–415; *ibid.* (Nov. 2, 1939), pp. 614–625; *ibid.* (Nov. 11, 1939), pp. 489–506; *ibid.* (Nov. 14, 1939), pp. 361–366; and the minutes of the meetings of the continuation committees resulting from the conference, held in February and March 1940, copies in CU/H. Copy of the mimeographed list of conference participants also in CU/H.
10. *Preliminary Survey of Inter-American Cultural Activities in the United States* (Washington, D.C.: Dept. of State, Sept. 25, 1939); copies in NA, RG 353, SCC, Box 2, and CU/H.
11. Ellis O. Briggs, "The 1930's—A Decade of Progress in Inter-American Relations," *Bulletin*, II (Jan. 6, 1940), p. 10.
12. Unless otherwise specified, the summary of program activities between July 1, 1939 and June 30, 1940 is taken largely from the *Progress Report*.
13. *Ibid.*, p. 37.
14. Dept. of State memorandum, Joseph R. Baker, Legal Adviser, to Cherrington, June 15, 1939. NA, RG 59, WHB, Box 55.
15. IIE/H, Microfilm Roll 10, Side 2, Index No. 12.
16. Dept. of State memorandum, Cherrington to Welles, Apr. 16, 1940. NA, RG 59, WHB, Box 52. See also, "Minutes of the General Advisory Committee of the Division of Cultural Relations of the Department of State," Apr. 4–5, 1940, NA, RG 353, SCC, Box 29.
17. Dept. of State memorandum, Cherrington to Welles, May 27, 1940. NA, RG 59, WHB, Box 57.
18. *Ibid.*

19. The breakdown was as follows:

Department of State	
Convention for the Promotion of Inter-American Cultural Relations	$ 94,500
Travel grants for educational, professional, cultural and artistic leaders of the Latin American countries and the U.S.	30,000
Travel grants for students from the Latin American countries	12,000
Visiting professors and specialists invited by other countries	15,000
Loan of Government experts and technicians to governments of Latin American countries	25,000
Travel of advisory committees	12,000
Salaries, Division of Cultural Relations	36,620
Travel expenses	6,000
Cultural objects	500
Printing of cultural relations pamphlets	500
Selection, translation, and dissemination of Government publications for Latin American countries	40,000
Other Departments	
Department of Commerce	46,500
Federal Security Agency	55,000
Department of the Interior	70,500
Department of Labor	12,500
Library of Congress	18,500
Smithsonian Institution	28,500
U.S. Tariff Commission	5,000
Grand total	$508,620

Source: *House Hearings, Department of State Appropriations Bill for 1942* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1941), p. 80.

20. Dept. of State Press Release 324, June 27, 1940, Dept. of State Library.

CHAPTER VIII

Acceleration of Activities

By the summer of 1940, President Roosevelt's mobilization of the nation in the face of the Axis aggression had already created a completely new climate of action on all fronts, including international cultural relations. In the ensuing years the Division of Cultural Relations was entrusted with leadership in correlating and coordinating a gigantic war emergency cultural relations effort. The Division's infant exchange programs with Latin America were dwarfed by those of various temporary war agencies with special emergency funds far in excess of anything the Division of Cultural Relations would have ever contemplated in its long-term basic concepts.

The aggressive Axis activities in the New World called for an acceleration of inter-American cooperative relations. On August 16, 1940, the President established, as a subordinate body to the Council of National Defense, the Office for Coordination of Commercial and Cultural Relations between the American republics, with Nelson A. Rockefeller appointed as Coordinator "to insure proper coordination . . . with respect to Hemisphere defense, with particular reference to the commercial and cultural aspects of the problem."[1] Its primary purpose and focus of attention was clearly stated in a letter from the President to Secretary Hull of June 15, 1940, as follows: "Regardless of whether the outcome of the war is a German or Allied victory, the United States must protect its international position through the use of economic measures that are competitively effective against totalitarian techniques . . . The scope and magnitude of the measures taken must be such as to be decisive with respect to the objective desired."[2]

With its generous allotment of funds the Coordinator's Office within a very short time was able to underwrite many of the educational and cultural exchange projects that had been formulated at the 1939 conferences but which otherwise might have been long delayed. At an early stage this work was facilitated for the Coordinator's Office through authorization to make contractual arrangements with appropriate nongovernmental agencies, under which Government funds were made available to them, thus keeping the initiative and direction of these cultural projects in the hands of private organizations of recognized competence.[3] Several years later the Division of Cultural Relations was to be given similar authorization under its regular program, a pattern of partnership in the conduct of the program which was to open many new doors of private-Government cooperative enterprises in the years to follow.

The Coordinator's Office was soon stepping on the toes of the Division of Cultural Relations by dealing directly with contacts in Latin American countries and in the United States. As a result of a request from the Department of State, President Roosevelt instructed the Coordinator to assure that all cultural and educational exchange projects originating in his office be discussed fully with and approved by the Department in advance of any action or commitment.[4] Meetings were held, and on June 6, 1941, a memorandum of agreement was drawn up creating a Joint Committee of three to pass upon all cultural projects sponsored by the Coordinator's Office.[5] The Joint Committee was composed of Charles Thomson, Chief of the Division of Cultural Relations; a representative from the Office of the Coordinator, usually Wallace K. Harrison or Kenneth Holland; and Dr. Waldo G. Leland, Director of the American Council of Learned Societies, who was also a member of the State Department's General Advisory Committee, representing the public.

On July 30, 1941, Rockefeller's office was reorganized by Executive order and renamed the Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs, in the Executive Office of the President, to "serve as the center for the coordination of the cultural and commercial relations of the Nation affecting Hemisphere defense."[6] Its instructions were to collaborate with and utilize the facilities of existing governmental and private agencies that performed functions and activities affecting the cultural and commercial aspects of Hemisphere defense. Coordination with the State Department was more fully achieved a year later, on May 21, 1942, when it was agreed that all individual projects would be submitted for policy clearance by the Department, which would also serve as liaison between the Coordinator and the Foreign Service overseas with reference to cultural matters. Also, the Division of Cultural Relations was now regarded as a continuing rather than an emergency agency and therefore was given the responsibility for long-range cultural projects.[7] While the Coordinator's Office provided funds for a number of activities that the Division had long hoped to initiate, significant amounts were simultaneously transferred to the Division to enable it to expand some of its established types of exchange activities.

The Interdepartmental Committee programs were transformed into a permanent program of economic-commercial, scientific-technical, social welfare-public health, and cultural-information projects "whose sole common denominator was the hope that each would influence Latin Americans and their governments to align themselves with the United States in opposition to the Axis powers."[8] In 1942 the Division of Cultural Relations became the secretariat for the Interdepartmental Committee, whereas previously the secretariat had been lodged in the office of the Assistant Secretary for American Republic Affairs.[9]

In 1943, as Allied victories overseas eased war emergency considerations, the bulk of the cultural activities of the Coordinator's Office was transferred to the Division. The technical assistance and development programs were retained, and along with those of other Government agencies represented in the programs of the Interdepartmental Committee continued to build, in such fields as public health, agriculture, sanitary engineering, mining, highway construction, and basic education, the models and patterns for the postwar Point 4 and subsequent Government technical assistance programs worldwide.[10]

Under the pressures of all-out war after Pearl Harbor, the small, incipient information part of the Division's "cultural-information" programs was speeded up but was completely eclipsed in the information field overseas by the three vastly larger war-time components—the Office of War Information, established on June 13, 1942, with authority to operate in all parts of the world except Latin America; the Office of Strategic Services, established on the same date; and the Coordinator's Office, designated on October 15, 1941, to operate in Latin America. For the duration of the war, the "instrumentalities of culture" were placed at their disposal.

As Cherrington later wrote, their policy was that "Culture in all its aspects must be utilized as an instrument of the one commanding purpose of the nation—victory over the enemy . . . Too fine a line could not be drawn between sheer propaganda and education in the best sense of the term. Friends must be won and held, the enemy frustrated, divided and conquered."[11] Noting the effect of these developments on the cultural relations program, Cherrington added, "As time went on, the distinction between unilateral propaganda on the one hand and reciprocal cultural cooperation on the other hand, so clearly perceived and adhered to in the prewar years, became increasingly blurred."[12]

The issue was unavoidable, and became a basic consideration in all of the Division's program planning in those turbulent years: to maintain both in the United States and abroad an appreciation and understanding of the distinction between those aspects of the program which represented its established and permanent educational and cultural character and purpose, and those which responded to the immediate goal of influencing worldwide opinion in support of the cause of the Allies in a war for national survival. Apart from the practical requirements of moving ahead with the now ongoing exchange programs, and exploring every possible avenue of effective effort in strengthening inter-American relations through cultural programs, the Division spent increasing time and attention, on a priority basis, defining and pursuing courses of action which responded both to the role cultural relations should play as a part of a total national effort during the war emergency and in the postwar period.

During these years the funds appropriated by Congress for the exchange programs of the Division of Cultural Relations increased substantially in volume. The exchange-of-persons budget of the Interdepartmental Committee, administered by the Department of State, including both the exchange programs of the Division and those of other Government agencies, and the President's Emergency Fund allocations for China, the Near East, and Africa, for the fiscal years 1940 through 1944, totaled $7,646,010, increasing from $75,000 in 1940 to $4,500,000 in 1944.[13] Of the total funds of the Coordinator's Office—with an initial grant of approximately $3.5 million, which increased to more than $30 million for 1944—nearly 10 percent were expended for cultural activities.[14] In addition, there was the substantial related input of the Office of War Information outside the hemisphere. Unfortunately, we do not have, to round out the picture, the figures on the total amount provided by private foundations, universities and colleges, and other institutions for related purposes which were facilitated by the Division and which buttressed the total effort.

As the war went on, leadership fell increasingly on the shoulders of the Division of Cultural Relations in correlating the related educational and cultural programs of the newly created wartime agencies. To do so was a massive task precipitously thrust upon the small staff of the Division, and there was unavoidable overlap and duplication of effort in achieving short-term as well as long-term educational and cultural goals. Thus the philosophy of the program as originally conceived and pursued was put to the test.

One of the most important aspects of the Department's cultural relations program of the period, which made it a creative one for the worldwide program of the future, was the continuity of oustanding leadership during the war years. Hull, Welles, and Duggan who saw the birth of the program continued to guide State Department policies through these years. The Division of Cultural Relations had essentially the same leadership, since Thomson, who remained as chief of the Division during the war years, carried forward the same basic program policies and principles of his close friend and predecessor Cherrington.

The same was true of the membership of the General Advisory Committee. Throughout the war years the members of the Committee and its many advisory subcommittees in special fields of competence representing the voice of the private sector included a cross section of the most distinguished leadership in the country in the field of "cultural relations" in the broadest sense of the term.[15] Hundreds of persons met periodically as active members of these committees, reviewing and recommending program policies.

Of the 5 to 10 members of the General Advisory Committee from the private sector who attended the periodic meetings of this body, along with the U.S. Government members including 20 or 30 officials of liaison committees with other Government and private agencies and key State Department officials, 6 who served continuously through the war years stand out above the rest and merit special recognition among the architects of the program: Stephen Duggan, Director of the Institute of International Education; Waldo G. Leland, Director, American Council of Learned Societies; James T. Shotwell, Chairman, National Committee of the United States of America on International Intellectual Cooperation; Ben Cherrington, Director of the Foundation for the Advancement of the Social Sciences, University of Denver; Carl H. Milam, Secretary, American Library Association; and George N. Shuster, President of Hunter College. The three Government members of the Advisory Committee were the chief of the Division of Cultural Relations, Charles A. Thomson, its presiding officer; Henry A. Wallace, Vice President; and John W. Studebaker, Commissioner of the U.S. Office of Education. Vice President Wallace, whenever he attended a meeting of the Committee, influenced the thinking of the members by his very presence and emphatically practical remarks, keeping everyone aware that although he recognized that the exchange of persons must concentrate on the 10 percent who influenced and directed progress and public opinion in Latin America, the other 90 percent must be reached.

But lest we get ahead of our story, it is necessary to return to the year and a half immediately preceding the bombing of Pearl

Harbor on December 7, 1941, and the formal entry of the United States into the war. During that period the Division of Cultural Relations was able to begin the movement of persons to and from the Latin American countries, as recipients of Government grants, for the first time on more than a token scale. The highlight of its program was the increasing momentum in the flow of students, professors, and distinguished leaders to and from the Latin American countries and the United States. With the relatively substantial increase in the congressional appropriation for the 1941 fiscal year, including the authorization to provide travel grants for academic exchanges outside the framework of the Buenos Aires Convention and additional short-term grants for visits by distinguished leaders to and from the United States and Latin America, the Division's exchange program was able to engage greater nationwide participation.

The Division's principal activities in carrying out its program in fiscal year 1941 were the interchange of leaders of public opinion, professors, and students; the circulation and translation of books representative of life and opinion in the United States, and the complementary translation into English and circulation in this country of books from the Latin American countries; the utilization of radio and motion pictures to document our country's position as active friend and powerful ally of other democracies; and active cooperation in the several fields of art, science, and social programs. The first concern, however, was to take full advantage of the new authority to invite leaders of public opinion in the Latin American countries to visit the United States, and to send distinguished U.S. leaders to countries to the South. Of next importance was the opportunity which now presented itself to stimulate increased exchanges of students and professors through travel grants outside the limited terms of the Buenos Aires Convention program.

With the approximately $69,000 appropriated in June 1940 for the exchange of distinguished educational, professional, and cultural leaders, and travel grants for students and professors (in addition to the $94,500 for the Buenos Aires Convention grants), the plan was to bring approximately 30 outstanding leaders and 20 to 30 graduate students and researchers from the Latin American countries and to send 10 or 12 U.S. leaders and scholars for short-term visits to Latin America. By September 1940, 20 students had been brought to the United States who had already received fellowships or scholarships in U.S. universities. Between December 1940 and July 1941 some 35 distinguished leaders were brought to the United States in a wide variety of fields. In addition, six U.S. leaders and several research scholars had traveled to Latin America under the new travel grant arrangement. With the increased budget for the 1942 fiscal year, by September 1941 the travel to the United States of about 50 more Latin American students had been financed for the 1941–42 academic year, and arrangements were underway for bringing 35 more leaders in the fall and winter of 1941.[16]

The criteria and selection procedures for these various types of grants, carefully formulated at this time, became the pattern until the mid-1940's with relatively minor modifications in criteria and selection and programming arrangements as circumstances and opportunities shifted. In the beginning, educational, professional, and artistic leaders from the other American republics were chosen to come to the United States after consultation by the Department of State with missions abroad, the General Advisory Committee, and the Committee on Latin American Studies of the American Council of Learned Societies. The selection of U.S. leaders to visit Latin American countries followed a similar procedure. The grants to Latin American leaders were for 2 to 3 months of travel and observation. Preference was given to persons who had never been in the United States or who had visited this country some years previously; to those whose primary interests lay in the humanities and social sciences; and to persons who in all probability would, upon their return to their own countries, engage in writing and speaking on the basis of their experience and work in the United States. The lists of persons to whom grants were to be offered were prepared in collaboration with the groups indicated above, on the basis of tentative lists prepared by the Division of Cultural Relations.

After these preliminary steps had been taken, the U.S. diplomatic missions in Latin America were requested to approach the persons indicated, and if able to accept they were invited to be guests of the U.S. Government. Then tentative advance arrangements were made for each to visit the universities and organizations which offered the best opportunities for observation and study in the grantee's particular field. In this connection officers of the Division visited universities throughout the Middle West and South, where contacts had not already been established, to assure successful reception and program arrangements for the visitors. Each grantee was requested to come to Washington, D.C., upon his arrival for consultation with officers of the Division regarding details of his or her visit and the procedures to be followed in the payment of per diem allowances and travel expenses. In addition, the Division assured appropriate hospitality, arranging reception committees, social events, and opportunities to meet U.S. officials and colleagues. The visiting leader was normally met by a Division officer in New York or at Union Station in Washington, D.C., and in the course of his visit an official luncheon or dinner was given in his honor. A popular place for this occasion was the Cosmos Club, at that time off Lafayette Square, on the corner of H Street and Madison Place, a stone's throw from the offices of the Division.[17]

The awards to Latin American students and research workers under the new travel grant program were made under the following conditions: their purpose was to supplement fellowships or scholarships provided by U.S. universities, with preference to those offering the most liberal scholarships; the economic status of the grantee was taken into consideration; preference was given to graduate students; and an effort was made to distribute grantees widely throughout the United States and to assure a fair representation from all Latin American countries. U.S. missions in Latin America and the Committee on Latin American Studies of the American Council on Education were consulted with regard to nominations. In those countries where the Institute of International Education had been instrumental in establishing local binational selection committees, using cultural institutes as headquarters in several major capitals, these local committees were used to interview, screen, and recommend candidates as early as 1941, a pattern more systematically developed in subsequent years. The travel awards were administered in the United States by the Institute of International Education. In general, the fields of study of the students were practical ones of special need and interest in Latin America. During these years the Department advised U.S. universities that it would scrutinize carefully the value of a student to immediate needs, including the war effort, in awarding Government travel grants. Also, it established the policy not to request priorities for air travel for any grantee, and the movement both ways was spread throughout the year to avoid an unwarranted load on the wartime air and sea requirements of the Government.[18]

In the case of the U.S. students and researchers, the travel grants were awarded in the beginning by the Advisory Committee on Exchange Fellowships and Professorships, an arm of the General Advisory Committee, in cooperation with the Office of Education. The selections were made from nominations by the Institute of International Education, the American Council of Learned Societies, the Social Science Research Council, other organizations qualified to supply names of outstanding students of journalism, agriculture, and the technologies, and from the lists of graduate students placed on the Buenos Aires Convention panels but not selected under that program.

The travel grants to U.S. professors and specialists were designed primarily to make it possible for U.S. professors requested by institutions in Latin America to accept such invitations. There had been longstanding requests from universities in Brazil, Chile, Colombia, and Peru in the sciences, U.S. history, U.S. literature, English language, and the social sciences, and the missions in Latin America were encouraged to find other institutions which would welcome persons in such fields. Also, there were various U.S. universities that already had established interuniversity relationships, and travel grants were used to supplement costs of visiting professors under such arrangements. The U.S. professors and researchers were selected on a flexible basis following consultation with and recommendation by U.S. universities and qualified educational, scientific, and professional organizations and agencies such as those utilized in the selection of the recipients of student travel grants indicated above.[19]

The first two leader grantees to arrive in the United States under the program were Dr. Aurelio Espinosa Polit, S.J., rector of the Catholic University in Quito, a distinguished intellectual leader in his country, who arrived in New York on December 16, 1940, for a 2-month visit; and Commander Fernando Romero, from Lima, who reached New York on December 30, 1940. Romero was an instructor at the Peruvian Naval College, and also a novelist and leader in educational and literary circles in Peru.[20] Within the next few months a total of approximately 30 educational, professional, and artistic leaders were to arrive in the United States for visits of approximately 2 months under the program. Among the first to follow were Maurice Dartigue, Director of Rural Education in Haiti; Luis Valcárcel, Director of the Museum of Archeology in Peru; and Erico Verissimo, the well-known Brazilian novelist and educator. For all of these influential Latin American intellectuals it was their first visit to the United States. They clearly demonstrate to whom the program was being directed, the molders of thought and opinion among the educated elite in the Latin American countries, the 10 percent that shaped the destinies of the other 90 percent of the Latin American public.[21]

Vice President Wallace, from the time of his first attendance at a meeting of the General Advisory Committee on February 27, 1941, urged a larger participation in the leader program of persons in practical fields who could contribute to both the immediate war effort and the advancement of the social and economic development of Latin America. As noted earlier in this chapter, he strongly felt that fundamental economic and social change were the basic underpinning necessary to achieve the long-range goal of strengthening mutual understanding and cooperative relations throughout the hemisphere.[22]

Cherrington had made this point in earlier Department memoranda when he was chief of the Division, and the concept had been evolving. However, on February 4, 1941, at the appropriations hearing of the House of Representatives on the cultural relations program, Thomson stated that the long-term types of exchange, such as those characterized by the Buenos Aires Convention, should not be minimized in importance in any way. He stated ". . . in a number of these countries their leaders exercise great influence, and the masses of the people do not have the same degree of influence that they have in the United States . . . Therefore, it is important in the cultural relations program to employ methods which reach the masses, and also methods which reach the leaders." [23]

But Vice President Wallace articulated the need to reach "the masses" in a persuasive manner, and the program emphasis was modified accordingly. He was not questioning the view that the most effective way to reach the "masses" in Latin America was through their leaders; rather he was saying that in inviting leaders to visit the United States, those most representative of the aspirations and welfare of the "masses" should be given a high priority. When the Vice President urged this, Cherrington, now also a member of the Advisory Committee, suggested that special consideration should also be given to the organizational affiliation of the grantees, thereby securing a much wider influence for the program than could be obtained from a method of selection based purely on the achievements of the individual.[24] As a result, at its meeting of May 9, 1941, the General Advisory Committee unanimously agreed that the travel grant program be broadened to include "government administrators, leaders of farm groups and rural organizations including cooperatives, urban and rural journalists, labor leaders, leaders in physical education, health education and recreation, secondary school teachers of English and Spanish, and others." [25] At the same time it was agreed that the visitors, especially those in certain technical and professional fields, be provided more extensive stays to enable them to pursue their specialties in greater depth.[26]

The first U.S. leader to receive a travel grant under the program was Dr. Elmer Severinghaus, President of the Association for the Study of Internal Secretions, of the University of Wisconsin. He left Miami by plane on February 20, 1941, to lecture before professional groups in Argentina and Uruguay for several weeks in March.

During the next few months two other distinguished scientists followed: Dr. William Germain, pathologist of the Good Samaritan Hospital in Cincinnati, who sailed for Colombia on April 16, 1941, to teach at the National University in Bogotá; and Dr. Henry Beecher of the Harvard Medical School who left on June 6, 1941, also to teach at the National University in Bogotá. During the same period the first three distinguished U.S. educational and cultural leaders received grants to lecture and meet with colleagues in Latin American countries for periods of approximately 3 months each. Thornton N. Wilder, the well-known author of numerous novels and plays, left on February 28, 1941, to visit Ecuador, Colombia, and Peru. This was Mr. Wilder's first visit to Peru, although it was the setting of one of his best known novels *The Bridge of San Luis Rey*. In early April, John Erskine, the distinguished U.S. leader in the field of arts and letters, and author of numerous volumes of poems, essays, and historical novels, left for Argentina and Uruguay where he lectured on literary and musical trends in the United States. Beginning in mid-June, Dr. Isaiah Bowman, President of Johns Hopkins University and world renowned geographer and geologist, visited Ecuador, Colombia, and Peru. His explorations and publications on South America dating back to 1911 were well known among scholars throughout Latin America, where he had been honored on numerous occasions in the past.[27]

The newly authorized travel grants for student and professor exchanges, unencumbered by the rigid selection procedures under the Buenos Aires Convention, made possible the awarding of a number of partial grants to supplement other funds available to the grantee under a variety of joint auspices, providing the kind of flexibility needed to respond to opportunities as they presented themselves. For Latin American students, travel expense was a very big item, and for that reason the State Department's new travel grant program for students was of the greatest help in enabling students to accept scholarships which might otherwise have had to remain unfilled. It was much the same in the case of professors.

By this time the Buenos Aires Convention program was underway. A little less than a third of its maximum potential for exchanges with the United States was in operation or in an advanced stage toward that goal by the end of 1941. Nearly half of the Latin American countries were participating in part or in full. The first two U.S. graduate students awarded grants under the Convention were selected by Chile on March 27, 1940, after months of processing, and they took up their grants in Chile in the spring of 1940. They were Dorothy Field of Phillips, Maine, and Esther Bernice Mathews of

Denver, Colorado, the former a graduate student in history, the latter in political science. The first four Latin American students, awarded grants in the fall of 1940, were from Chile. (Since all the participating countries did not fill their quota of two, Chile was allowed four grants.) They began their academic studies in the United States that same year. Their fields were international commerce, English language teaching, engineering, and mathematics.

The first three U.S. professor grantees under the Convention were Dr. Charles C. Griffin, Professor of History at Vassar College, who sailed for Venezuela on September 6, 1940; Dr. John Ashton, of the Agricultural and Mechanical College of Texas, who sailed for Nicaragua on September 28; and Dr. Carroll Dodge, Professor of Botany at Washington University, St. Louis, who traveled to Guatemala a few months later.[28] Eventually a total of eight U.S. professors were to serve in Latin American countries under the Convention arrangement, and all made important contributions, notably Dr. Albert Marckwardt of the University of Michigan, who pioneered in the establishment of an English teaching program in Mexico on his grant in 1943. By 1944 professor exchanges under the Convention were abandoned, and the same occurred later in the case of student exchanges with the exception of a few countries which include Convention grants for students to the United States to this day.[29]

The basic criteria and requirements for the academic exchanges under the Buenos Aires Convention part of the program were fixed in the treaty agreement as described earlier. In implementing these procedures in the United States, applications by U.S. students were received by the Office of Education, which then prepared an abstract of the data given, including the educational and occupational background of the applicant; research project proposed; country in which the work was to be done; and applicant's ability to read, write, and speak the language of the country for which application was made. Applications were then carefully considered by the Advisory Committee on Exchange Fellowships and Professorships of the General Advisory Committee, and panels drawn up and submitted to the governments of the host countries.

In the case of students from Latin America, the basic criteria as set forth in the Buenos Aires Convention itself were carried out along the lines indicated in referring to the student travel grant programs above. The essential difference was that under the Buenos Aires Convention the Office of Education rather than the Institute of International Education was the cooperating administrative agency in the United States. Candidates were nominated by the other governments and forwarded by our Embassies to the Department of

State. The Department then notified the other governments, via our Embassies, of the selections made, and when information was received that the selected person had accepted the award, notice of such acceptance was given to the Office of Education. The Department then notified the fellow that the Office of Education would have responsibility for assisting him in the choice of the university or college in the United States where he was being placed. At the same time the Department transmitted to the fellow a communication from the Office of Education requesting information needed for his placement—academic transcripts, institutional preferences, proposed program of study and research. As long as the fellow was outside the United States, correspondence between him and the Office of Education was transmitted by the Division of Cultural Relations, the State Department channel. After arrival in the United States the fellow corresponded directly with the Office of Education, with the requirement that copies of all pertinent correspondence be furnished the Department. If possible, the fellow visited Washington en route to the host institution in the United States. All arrangements with the U.S. institution were made by the Office of Education, but tuition, maintenance, and allowances for books and incidentals were paid directly by the Department to the U.S. host institution. Each student was advised to take out insurance against accident and illness through the Institute of International Education under its already established group insurance program.

During the stay in the United States the fellow was instructed to look to the Division of Cultural Relations as the Government agency responsible for his direction and with which he should correspond in noneducational matters, and to the Office of Education regarding specific questions related to his educational program. The host institution was advised to address the Office of Education on matters regarding the fellow. Finally, the fellow was required to submit twice a year a brief report of his activities with copies both to the Office of Education and the Division of Cultural Relations.

In the case of U.S. professors under the Convention, applications were received by the Office of Education with a full biographic and scholastic record, indication of language ability, previous foreign travel, proposed courses of instruction and/or research, special lectures the candidate was prepared to give, and an indication of when and how long he would be available. An abstract was then submitted to the State Department's Advisory Committee on Exchange Fellowships and Professorships which made the final selections. The lists of those selected were then sent to the Latin American governments concerned, the Department was notified of those selected, and finally arrangements were completed by the Department's Division of Cultural Relations and the Latin American governments via our Embassies. In the case of professors from Latin America the channel was also via our Embassies and the Division of Cultural Relations with all educational arrangements in the United States made by the Office of Education, and noneducational matters handled directly between the visiting scholars and the Division of Cultural Relations with the latter responsible for the overall direction of the scholars' stay in the United States.[30]

In short, the procedures under the Buenos Aires Convention were so cumbersome that this part of the program lost its effectiveness. In subsequent years more flexible legislative authority made the unwieldy and restrictive procedures under the Convention less and less attractive. Larger opportunities under new arrangements took their place. Nonetheless, the significance of the Buenos Aires Convention in initiating the whole exchange operation between the United States and Latin America cannot be overlooked. It gave the initial spirit and life to a type of officially sponsored program that was to become a permanent feature of inter-American relations. It was the touchstone, the U.S. Government commitment that insured the first congressional appropriations for exchanges that set the whole operation in motion.

During 1941 [31] much progress was made by the Division of Cultural Relations, the Library of Congress, the Coordinator's Office, and the American Library Association in initiating a large-scale program of exchange of books and publications covering all possible fields of interest. Following a recommendation of the General Advisory Committee of October 10, 1940, proposed by the Coordinator's Office, Archibald MacLeish, Librarian of Congress, and Harry M. Lydenberg, Director of the New York Public Library, headed an advisory group to assist the Coordinator's program of book exchange, with the purpose of coming up with lists of books to be translated into Spanish and Portuguese and books in English which might be sent to Latin America, and similar lists of books in Spanish and Portuguese which should be translated into English. Special attention was given to the plan to translate into Spanish a representative history of the United States by a leading U.S. historian, and to find leading Brazilian and Spanish-American historians to write histories of the United States in their languages.

The Library of Congress, through the allocation by the Interdepartmental Committee of $18,500 for 1941 and $35,000 for 1942 initiated what was to become a central and continuing role in this field, largely through its Hispanic Foundation. It initiated a series of guides to Latin American literature, including not only official publications but those representative of all the major fields. Dr. Lewis Hanke, Director of the Hispanic Foundation, was provided $5,000 by the Coordinator's Office for a trip to Latin America in the summer of 1941 to lay the basis for the program. Exchange agreements were effected with institutions in all the other American republics. Dr. Hanke and other officers of the Library of Congress traveled extensively throughout Latin America to enlist cooperation. In July 1941 Dr. Hanke visited Mexico where he arranged for the translation into Spanish and the publication of *The American Way of Life—a History* by Harold Faulkner, Tyler Kepner, and Hall Bartlett. The book was translated by Silvio Zavala, the well-known Mexican historian, and published that year by the Fondo de Cultura Económica in Mexico City. Funds were provided by the Coordinator's Office. Several thousand copies were purchased by the Library of Congress for wide distribution. Funds were allocated by the Coordinator's Office in the amount of $75,000 for a broad publications exchange program.

Meanwhile, subcommittees of the General Advisory Committee of the Division of Cultural Relations, with the close cooperation of the Coordinator's Office as the major source of funding and the professional leadership of the American Library Association, worked hard to stimulate increased cooperation from private U.S. publishers. Independently, in 1941 Alfred A. Knopf, recognizing the lessening interest in Europe and the growing interest in Latin America, began to publish translations of Latin American literary works, especially those by Brazilian authors, which he has continued to this day, creating a distinguished bookshelf of English translations of Brazilian and Spanish-American literary classics. In the other direction, the *Reader's Digest* made a notable contribution to inter-American cultural relations through its Spanish edition, which at this time had a circulation of 250,000 with all but 50,000 of this in the Latin American countries.

In the fields of radio and films there was also a rapid increase in activity directed to Latin America, which involved the many agencies long engaged in specialized programs, with the Coordinator's Office serving as the catalyst in shaping the areas of concentration of other Government agencies in these fields. The Division of Cultural Relations was exploring the possibilities of preparing scripts for radio transcriptions which could project a cross section of U.S. life and culture, including science and industry, music, historical topics, and English language courses by radio. The Coordinator's Office was engaged in direct broadcasting and was planning a system of local distribution through direct contacts in Latin America. By the fall of 1941 a number of "live" programs were being transmitted by the Coordinator's radio section, and of the 74 radio stations in Latin American countries carrying this program, 16 were repeating it four times daily.

In the development of special educational motion pictures for showing in Latin America, the Coordinator's Office was moving ahead rapidly on a broad front. The films prepared by other Government agencies were also being fully used but they were in specialized technical fields, and what was being sought was educational films that could reach a wider public. The Office of Education, in supporting domestic defense training programs, was coordinating an effective program of training films in essential war industries, some of which were adapted for specialized training in comparable industries in Latin America during the war years. The Coordinator's Office emphasized films on the expansion of current U.S. defense industries and the portrayal of other activities illustrating the strength and power of the United States. It was also producing some films in the fields of music and sports (basketball and a picture on skiing in Chile). It began the release of monthly news reels directed to Latin America, and a program to provide 100 reels about Latin America for U.S. distribution. In these efforts the Coordinator's Office turned to private U.S. agencies and institutions to administer the programs, transferring administrative and program funds to these agencies through contractual arrangements. In all of these activities the Division of Cultural Relations determined overall policy in the United States and in the field, a role which required its day-to-day supervision plus facilitative diplomatic services abroad as these programs were jointly developed and carried out.

By the spring of 1941 the new relationships between the Coordinator's Office and the Department of State, and the increasing involvement of the U.S. private sector in inter-American cultural relations called for a reorientation of objectives and a discussion of the whole problem on a new basis with a more effective correlation of effort. This need was accented by a meeting at Princeton on April 26, 1941, at the initiative of Dr. Philip C. Jessup of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, attended by representatives of all the principal governmental and private agencies concerned, including the leading foundations operating in this field. Laurence Duggan expressed the view that the Department should be responsible in general for the determination of policy in connection with external relations, such as exchange of persons, and the strengthening of cultural institutes in Latin America, with the Office of the Coordinator primarily responsible for carrying out projects in the United States, but with the Department of State responsible for overall supervision of all phases of the official cultural relations programs.

Following the establishment of the Joint Committee of the Division of Cultural Relations and the Coordinator's Office in June 1941, the Coordinator's Office moved rapidly in relatively large-scale programs of financial assistance for cultural institutes, libraries, grants for study and training in the United States with the cooperation of the several national research councils, summer schools in the United States and Latin America, special student exchanges, aid to American-sponsored schools, support for reception centers in the United States to assist foreign visitors, exchanges in sports and music, and for a variety of related activities, including the establishment of an Inter-American Institute in the United States to train specialists in commercial and diplomatic fields for careers in Latin America. This gave unprecedented scope and variety to the U.S. Government's cultural relations programs with Latin America.

By the end of 1941 the Coordinator's Office had completed or had in process the following exploratory and experimental exchange-of-persons projects:

It had cooperated in financing 100 Latin American students and teachers to enable them to attend a special "winter" school at the University of North Carolina and 30 others for courses at Columbia University, with a grant of $4,000 to the American Council of Learned Societies as agent for the international travel costs, and $5,000 to the Institute of International Education for travel throughout the United States after the school sessions.

In the arts it had financed exhibits of U.S. art from four New York museums in 10 Latin American countries; had funded a 28-week tour by the American Ballet Caravan, at a cost $100,000; and had financed a trip by the sculptor Jo Davidson to make busts of the presidents of 10 of the other American republics.

In the field of music it had provided first-year funds for an Inter-American Music Center in the Pan American Union, with the Carnegie Endowment providing support for the second and third years and the Pan American Union taking over thereafter. It had facilitated a successful trip to Latin America by the Yale University Glee Club. It also had financed trips by two music educators, John W. Beattie and L. W. Curtis, to lay the groundwork for increased activities in the interchange of music for schools.

It had set up a special Committee on Inter-American Artistic and Intellectual Relations composed of Drs. Henry Allen Moe, Frederick Keppel, and David H. Stevens, representing the Carnegie, Guggenheim, and Rockefeller Foundations, for the exchange of creative scholars between the United States and Latin American countries and soon thereafter provided $100,000 for such exchanges in 1941 and an additional $150,000 for 1942. Under this program a number of distinguished intellectual leaders were invited to lecture at U.S. universities, including the Peruvian historian Jorge Basadre, who lectured at Swarthmore, Bryn Mawr, and Haverford Colleges; Amado Alonso of Argentina in the field of literature and linguistics, who lectured at the University of Chicago; and Luis Alberto Sánchez, the Peruvian intellectual leader and educator, who spent several months engaged in research at the Hispanic Foundation and also lectured at universities in the Middle Atlantic area.

Before the war several large groups of students in various South American countries had made plans upon their graduation from local universities to visit the United States for varying periods of 1 to 3 months to study U.S. methods in their fields of specialization. Unable to raise sufficient funds, they were now assisted by the Coordinator's Office. The students paid their own travel expenses, and the Coordinator's Office provided for their expenses in the United States. Among those assisted in this way were 30 students from an agricultural school in the state of São Paulo, Brazil, and several smaller groups of engineering students from Chile. Subsequently, the Department assisted a number of student group visits following this pattern, and the program was to be elaborated upon and greatly expanded in the early 1960's under a type of project referred to as "educational travel."

Technical training and study grants represented an important part of the Coordinator's program with $100,000 provided for industrial and trade scholarships. In the field of student exchange, the Coordinator's Office in 1941 provided the Institute of International Education with a fund of approximately $70,000 to supplement scholarships and maintenance costs for a substantial number of Latin American students, and another fund of $74,000 for 1941 and $79,000 for 1942 to provide 60 full scholarships and a few partial scholarships for Latin American and U.S. student exchanges for a program designated "The Roosevelt Scholarship Fund." Also, $10,000 was provided to supplement tuition scholarships provided by the city of New York. The processing arrangements were made through the Embassies and the Department of State. With this substantial increase in Government-funded student exchanges, the Institute of International Education began to refine its already productive efforts to organize a more effective system of local binational screening committees in the various Latin American countries to assist in the selection of student candidates. In some countries, such committees had already been set up by the Institute, usually centered in cultural institutes where these existed; in other cases they were organized by U.S. Embassies, following the same pattern. By the end of the war the system of student screening committees had been fairly well organized and was used by many private scholarship donors as well. It eventually became an established part of the State Department's student scholarship selection process abroad.

During this period the Coordinator's Office provided an initial grant of $50,000 to the American Council of Learned Societies to administer a program of assistance to binational cultural institutes in Latin America. Those selected were the institutes in Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo, and Porto Alegre in Brazil; and in Santiago, Buenos Aires, Montevideo, Tegucigalpa, and Lima. These were emergency grants to institutes that had grown up in a spontaneous manner. Unlike the policy of direct support by the German, Italian, and British Governments to such groups, the U.S. grants were made through a private organization, the American Council of Learned Societies, and channeled through the U.S. Embassies with no U.S. control or program supervision. The funds were designed to assist the institutes in improving their libraries, public lecturing programs, and English teaching courses. For 1941–42 the Coordinator's Office also provided a grant of $45,000 to the American Library Association for the establishment of the Lincoln Library in Mexico City, a binationally administered U.S. library and language teaching center which was to become a model of its kind under its first director, Dr. Harry Lydenberg, formerly Director of the New York Public Library. An additional $25,000 was provided to the American Library Association for library assistance to other selected cultural institutes in Latin America.

The program of Government assistance to American-sponsored schools in Latin America was developed at this time. There were some 250 such schools in Latin America at the primary and secondary level, well established in their communities and with a large component of national as well as local U.S. students. The children mingled and formed lasting friendships. Nearly all of these schools operated on very slim budgets from denominational, community, or local U.S. company sources, and could not compete in quality and facilities with some of the better German, Italian, and British sponsored schools which were subsidized and directed by the governments of these countries. Many middle-class and well-to-do Latin American families sent their children to German schools, which had become open channels of Nazi propaganda. During the summer of 1941 the Joint Committee of the Division of Cultural Relations and the

Coordinator's Office proposed on the basis of preliminary surveys that approximately $80,000 from the Coordinator's budget be expended for immediate aid to American-sponsored schools. It was agreed that support should be limited to nonprofit community schools that were binationally administered and had a binational student body. It was proposed that the funds be transferred to a private U.S. organization to administer the program, and the program was initiated the following year with funds transferred to the American Council on Education.

The increasing inter-American cultural activities on the part of the major private foundations, professional organizations, and educational institutions long engaged in this work were stimulated by funds provided by the Coordinator's Office. The Coordinator's funds had an interacting multiplier effect on foundation contributions. Among the foundations the most notable work was that of the Carnegie Endowment, Rockefeller Foundation, John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation, and Carnegie Institution in Washington. A number of projects were initiated by the National Research Council, Social Science Research Council, American Council of Learned Societies, American Library Association, and Museum of Modern Art with funds from both the foundations and the Coordinator's Office. Notable wartime projects financed by the Rockefeller Foundation and administered by the American Council of Learned Societies were the summer institutes for intensive training in Spanish and Portuguese held at the University of Wyoming and the University of Vermont for Government officials, professors, and graduate students. The first cultural attaché to the U.S. Embassy in Ecuador, Francis J. Colligan, was recruited from among the professors who studied at the institute in Wyoming. At least a dozen major universities from coast to coast were strengthening on a permanent basis their programs in Latin American studies through course offerings, special summer programs, and Latin American institutes.

The financial contributions from many private sources for support of Latin American students in the United States grew significantly as a result of the stimulus provided by the travel grant programs and facilitative services of the Division of Cultural Relations and the Coordinator's Office. The maintenance and tuition grants provided by universities and colleges constituted the majority of the support, and credit must first be given to them. In many instances professional organizations, service clubs, business firms, and university fraternities and sororities provided tuition and maintenance expenses, and sometimes travel costs. The arrangements were usually completed with administrative assistance from the Institute of International Education.

Examples of some of these supporting organizations are the American Association of University Women, a pioneer in the field; General Federation of Women's Clubs; American Home Economics Association; American Society of Mechanical Engineers; National City Bank; Pan American Airways; Anaconda Copper Mining Company, and Mine Grande Oil Company, C.A. Among the State Federations of Women's Clubs the Ohio Federation had initiated a "Pan American Scholarship" a decade earlier, and in 1941 a full scholarship to a Latin American student was offered by each of the following additional State Federations: Iowa, Kansas, West Virginia, Texas, and Florida.

It was estimated that the Coordinator's Office as a whole spent approximately $800,000 in 1941 for cultural exchange activities, which combined with approximately $200,000 spent by the Division of Cultural Relations brought the expenditures of the two agencies in this work to a total of a little over $1 million.[32] During the next few years their expanding complementary activities were correlated as closely as possible, which was no easy task as the Coordinator's programs proliferated. In sharing responsibilities, the Coordinator's Office transferred a modest but significant amount of funds to the Division of Cultural Relations to enable it to add staff for the handling of some interrelated activities.[33]

In the Congress there were both friends and critics of these increasing expenditures for the cultural program. Between September 1940 and June 1941 four bills authorizing an increased exchange of persons with Latin America, mainly students, were introduced in Congress by strong supporters of the program, three by Representative Jerry H. Voorhis, Democrat from California, and one by Senator Elbert D. Thomas, Democrat from Utah. While all of these bills died in committee, they represented the favorable view of some Congressmen for an increased cultural relations program with Latin America. The most interesting of these bills was H.R. 5134 introduced by Representative Voorhis on June 23, 1941, the principles of which were heartily endorsed by the State Department's General Advisory Committee.[34] Regarded as a supplement to the Buenos Aires Convention it proposed an annual appropriation by Congress of $1 million "to promote international understanding in the Americas by a mutual interchange of students between the various sovereign nations." The funds would be administered by a board of trustees appointed by the President consisting of seven members, two of whom would be in the field of education, and two officials of the U.S. Government. They would serve without compensation other than for travel and maintenance while discharging their duties under the Act. The members would be appointed for alternating periods up to 5 years, and they would annually select one of their members as chairman. They would be known as Trustees of the Inter-American Scholarship Fund. As soon as practicable seven additional members would be added from representative citizens of various Latin American countries.

Under the proposed bill, the Trustees would be authorized to accept gifts and contributions from any American nation, individual, foundation, or other source to supplement the funds appropriated by Congress and would have responsibility for disbursing the funds. They would have authority to appoint one or more organizations experienced in the field of international educational exchanges as their executive agent or agents for carrying out the purposes of the Act. Full expense scholarships would be provided, although adjustments would be made on the basis of the financial resources of the applicant. Selection would be made through open competition, with consideration given, "provided the caliber of the applicant is of the highest quality obtainable," to candidates in all fields of mutual interest and benefit. In setting forth the qualifications required of all applicants the Act stated, "Persons (men and women) shall be selected primarily upon demonstration that they possess two qualifications (1) ability to profit by the opportunity of carrying out study or research in another country and (2) temperament, attitude, training and background of such a character as to render them persons capable of promoting international good will and understanding." As indicated earlier, the bill was never passed. The Bureau of the Budget shelved the idea as not in accord with the President's program.[33] Nonetheless, it represented considerable thought and originality and had in it novel ideas and concepts that were similar in one form or another to those that are found in later international cultural exchange arrangements.

The critical years preceding and immediately following Pearl Harbor which saw this rapid expansion of the cultural relations programs with the Latin American countries also witnessed a more systematic organization of the various elements involved in the conduct of these programs overseas and throughout the United States. The need to appoint cultural officers in U.S. Embassies in Latin America to support the work of the Division of Cultural Relations was finally recognized. As indicated earlier, some Foreign Service officers had insisted that the job could be done by Foreign Service officers on the Embassy staffs. It now became clear that a different type of full-time job was needed. In 1941 the first six appointments were made. At the same time, the network of private community groups and university and college representatives cooperating with the U.S. Government throughout the country in providing hospitality and services to Latin American grantees began to share experiences and improve their programs, paving the way for greater coordination of effort in their increasingly important nationwide role in inter-American cultural relations. These developments, at home and abroad, are discussed in later chapters.

In one way or another the Division was now engaged in various aspects of educational and cultural exchange with many countries beyond the hemisphere—in Europe, the Middle East, Africa, the Far East, and the South Pacific. By 1942 and 1943 it was directly administering exchange of persons and related programs with China and countries in the Middle East and North Africa, and in Spain.[36] In some cases it cooperated with some of the overseas programs of the Office of War Information, which financed lectures and literature about the U.S. war effort and the Allied war aims. Educational films and radio programs were supplied to posts in Europe and the Far East through the services of the Division. In those cases involving grants for the exchange of persons outside the areas indicated above, nothing could be done. There were extensive discussions within the Department and the U.S. Embassies, and with other Government officials and private individuals and organizations here and abroad, involving considerable memoranda and correspondence on the subject. Many of the proposals discussed were realized after the war. These activities were an important part of the day-to-day work of the Division. The following are typical examples of the many requests received: from Iceland, for the education of students and professors in the United States and the sending of U.S. books and motion pictures to Iceland; from the Dutch East Indies, for the exchange of students and the distribution of motion pictures and radio transcriptions; from Australia and New Zealand, for educational motion pictures, radio broadcasts, exchange of fellowships and visits of professors and journalists; from Canada, for more information on U.S. conservation and labor legislation and a greater coverage for Canadian radio programs, periodicals, and books in the United States; from Great Britain, for lectures on the American way of life by Britons of long residence in the United States, and for U.S. studies of nutrition, public health, and postwar reconstruction; from Spain and Portugal, for books on electrification, low-cost housing, irrigation, reforestation, new industrial processes, and medical discoveries. In the early 1940's the network of educational and cultural activities in which the Division was already directly involved was worldwide in its reach. The permanent worldwide Department-sponsored exchange program of the postwar period was in the making.

Notes

CHAPTER VIII

1. Donald W. Rowland, *History of the Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1947), p. 280.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 279.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 281.
4. *Ibid.*, pp. 91, 181–190.
5. *Ibid*
6. *Ibid.*, p. 281.
7. *Ibid.*, pp. 91–92
8. Murray Lawson, *The United States Information Agency: A History, Origins 1933–1945*, vol. I, U.S. Information Agency, Washington, D.C., 1970. Unfinished manuscript, vol. 1, ch. 3, p. 81.
9. Richardson Dougall, "The Interdepartmental Committee on Scientific and Cultural Cooperation," supplement to Helen R. Pinkney's "The Division of Cultural Cooperation," Dept. of State, Dec. 1945, p. 78, NA, RG 59, WHB, Box 10; *Report of the Division of Cultural Relations*, Apr. 1942, p. 1. Later the Interdepartmental Committee was transferred to the office of the Assistant Secretary for Public Affairs in the Department. *The Report of the Division of Cultural Relations* was the title of the first monthly and bimonthly report of the Division of Cultural Relations, issued from 1941 to 1944 under that title and continued throughout the period covered in this book successively as *Report of the Science, Education, and Art Division*, *Report of the Division of Cultural Cooperation*, and *The Record*. Copies of the reports through 1944 in NA, RG 59, WHB, Box 56, NA, RG 353, SCC, Boxes 23–24, and CU/H; copies of *The Record* in CU/H and Dept. of State Library.
10. Rowland, *op. cit.*, pp. 91–92.
11. Ben M. Cherrington, "Ten Years After," *Association of American Colleges Bulletin*, XXXIV (Dec. 1948), p. 5.
12. *Ibid.*
13. "Fourteenth Semi-Annual Report on Educational Exchange Activities," report to Congress by the United States Advisory Commission on Educational Exchange (Washington, D.C.: 84th Cong., 1st sess., H. Doc. 219, U.S. Government Printing Office, 1955), app. I.
14. Rowland, *op. cit.*, pp. 266–267.
15. The members of these committees and the record of those who attended regularly and participated actively can be gleaned from the "Minutes of the General Advisory Committee," 1940–1944, NA, RG 353, SCC, Boxes 1 and 29. On the principal activities of the various committees at this time see the minutes for Apr. 4–5, 1940, *ibid.*
16. "The Program of the Department of State in Cultural Relations," reprinted from the *House Hearings, Department of State Appropriation Bill for 1942* [hereinafter cited as *House Hearings, (year)*] (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1941), pp. 1–4, copies in CU/H; Dept. of State memoranda, July 5–Aug. 26, 1940, NA, RG 59, WHB, Box 57; "The Program of Cultural Relations of the Government of the United States," n.d., *ibid.*; "The Program of the Department of State in Cultural

Relations," reprinted from the *House Hearings, 1943*, pp. 3–7; "Minutes of the General Advisory Committee," July 9, 1940, *op. cit.*, pp. 2–16, 18; Lawson, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, ch. 3, p. 3.

17. *House Hearings, 1942*, *op. cit.*, pp. 1–2; "Minutes of the General Advisory Committee," May 9, 1941, *op. cit.*, p. 14.
18. *Ibid.*; *Report of the Division of Cultural Relations*, Apr. 1942, app. I; Dept. of State memoranda, Oct. 4, 1940–Jan. 30, 1942, NA, RG 59, WHB, Boxes 55, 57; *Department of State Bulletin* [hereinafter cited as *Bulletin*], II (Mar. 9, 1940), pp. 279–280.
19. "Minutes of the General Advisory Committee," *op. cit.*, Feb. 27, 1941, p. 5; *ibid.*, May 9, 1941, p. 15.
20. Dept. of State memorandum, Thomson to Flournoy, Dec. 31, 1940, CU/H; *Bulletin*, IV (Jan. 11, 1941), pp. 62–63.
21. The arrivals of grantees in all categories throughout the 1940's are noted in the monthly reports of the Division of Cultural Relations and in the *Bulletin*.
22. "Minutes of the General Advisory Committee," Feb. 27, 1941, *op. cit.*, pp. 4–5.
23. *House Hearings, 1942*, *op. cit.*, p. 240.
24. "Minutes of the General Advisory Committee," Feb. 27, 1941, *op. cit.*, p. 5.
25. *Ibid.*, May 9, 1941, p. 12.
26. *Ibid.*
27. *Bulletin*, IV (Feb. 1, 1941), pp. 131–132; Dept. of State Press Release 81, Feb. 27, 1941, Dept. of State Library.
28. *Bulletin*, II (Mar. 9, 1940), pp. 279–281; *ibid.* (Apr. 6, 1940), pp. 359–361; *ibid.*, III (Aug. 24, 1940), pp. 149–150; *ibid.* (Sept. 28, 1940), pp. 254–256; *ibid.* (Oct. 5, 1940), pp. 282–283; and *ibid.*, IV (Mar. 15, 1941), pp. 289–291; Dept. of State Press Release 416, Sept. 23, 1940.
29. J. Manuel Espinosa, "Exchange of Professors Between the United States and the Other American Republics," *Bulletin*, XV (July 21, 1946), pp. 89–93.
30. For a summary of the procedures established in implementing the Buenos Aires Convention exchanges see *Bulletin*, IV (May 24, 1941), pp. 636–638.
31. The following account of activities during the calendar year 1941 is based on the detailed "Minutes of the General Advisory Committee" for the period Dec. 4, 1940 through Nov. 6, 1941, during which four 2-day meetings were held; Rowland, *op. cit.*, pp. 93–98; "The Program of the Department of State in Cultural Relations," reprinted from the *House Hearings, 1943*; "The Program of Cultural Relations of the Government of the United States," n.d., NA, RG 59, WHB, Box 55; "Program of the Office for Coordination of Commercial and Cultural Relations between the American Republics," n.d., NA, RG 59, WHB, "Division of Latin American Affairs, General," Box 1; NA, RG 353, SCC, Box 13.
32. "Minutes of the General Advisory Committee," Sept. 18, 1941, *op. cit.*, pp. 30–31.
33. Memoranda and correspondence between the Dept. of State and the Coordinator's Office, and Dept. of State office memoranda, Oct. 30, 1940 to June 10, 1942, NA, RG 59, WHB, Box 55.
34. "Minutes of the General Advisory Committee," Sept. 17, 1941, *op. cit.*, pp. 16–17. The text of the Voorhis bill is included as an appendix to the minutes of this meeting, pp. 76–80.
35. *Report of the Division of Cultural Relations*, May 1942, p. 16.
36. See ch. IX.

Growth and Change

CHAPTER IX

Cultural Relations During the War Years: I

The declaration of war by the United States on Japan, Germany, and Italy following the bombing of Pearl Harbor required a fresh reappraisal by the Division of Cultural Relations of its current and future role in relation to U.S. foreign policy, both with regard to Latin America and in the larger world context. Planning for cultural relations on a long-term basis on the assumption that the Allies would ultimately achieve victory was the only constructive basis on which to proceed. The long-range goals of the program had already been clearly established, but what was required now was greater attention to long-range plans anticipating the expected needs and problems of the postwar period. In a discussion on this subject at a meeting of the General Advisory Committee on September 18, 1941, 11 weeks before Pearl Harbor, Vice President Wallace had stated the issue quite candidly with special reference to relations in the Western Hemisphere when he said,

> "All of us are fascinated by the first flavor of contact with Latin America and the people of Latin America, and we hope that none of us will ever recover from it. We also hope that the Latin Americans, in their first contact with us, gain good impressions which they will not lose. But after we have passed through the first steps of association, we reach the point where we must inquire into the broad bases of permanent cooperation." [1]

Devastation in other areas of the world, a gigantic process of postwar reconstruction of educational and cultural life and institutions, and rebuilding for the future would be an enormous and costly task.

Although the main thrust of the cultural relations program continued to be directed to Latin America, almost immediately after the declaration of war, on January 14, 1942, a cultural exchange program was initiated with China. An initial allocation of $150,000 was provided from the President's Emergency Fund for the first 6 months of 1942; $500,000 more for 1942–43; and $700,000 for 1943–44. On July 29, 1943, similar programs were initiated with several countries in the Near East and with Liberia, with an allocation of approximately $375,000 from the President's Emergency Fund. The program experience and techniques developed in the Latin American program served as the model. Cultural exchange activities with these areas outside the hemisphere were extensions or adaptations readily applied, since the administrative machinery was already established, and the network of cooperating agencies in the United States included the major ones whose interests had touched all areas of the world, in some cases for many decades. As experience was to show, some of the programs as they evolved within the context of the inter-American scene required a different approach in other areas of the world with different cultural heritages, interests, and opportunities.[2]

The Division of Cultural Relations from 1942 onward gradually built up a staff of several officers to handle the exchange programs with China, the Near East, and Africa. Dr. Ralph E. Turner, a historian, was added to head up a research staff to devote full attention to postwar planning in the field of international cultural relations, in terms of both the instrumentalities already devised and the more complex requirements for setting up a separate international organization.[3] This latter concept of course was not new, but much of the Department's responsibility for long-term planning along these lines was left to the Division of Cultural Relations.

By the close of 1943, cultural officers held appointments in 22 countries throughout the world: 20 in the Latin American countries, 1 in Spain, and 1 in Turkey. The first full-time cultural officer was appointed to China in 1945. By the end of 1945, eight more appointments had been made: two in the Middle East (Syria and Egypt), and six in Europe (Belgium, France, Greece, Holland, Italy and Portugal).[4]

Laurence Duggan was to write subsequently, "After the successful invasion of Normany, the United States began to foresee postwar problems. Our planning was concentrated on the rehabilitation of liberated areas of Europe, on occupying and 'denazifying' the enemy countries, and on building a world security organization. We had next to no time for the problems of Latin America." [5] He added,

> "Between August, 1943, and August 1945, the State Department pilot of our relations with Latin America changed four times . . . the Latin American governments could not be sure that the man and the policy of today would be there tomorrow . . . Latin America's growing suspicion that the United States had lost interest in the consultative system was strengthened when the United States sat down with the British, the Russians, and the Chinese at Dumbarton Oaks to plan a world

security organization without even a gesture toward the Latin American countries . . . our 'cultural activities' proceeded with less and less hullabaloo." [6]

During these years, however, the spirit of "mission" was not diminished in the Cultural Relations Division. The continuing cultural relations program with Latin America flourished. Until the end of the war the chief of the Division and his principal deputies were all old Latin American hands, as were some of the Department's top officers, and under their leadership there was no lagging in the continuity of priority attention to the cultural relations program with the Latin American countries. The years 1942 to 1945 represented, in retrospect, a "golden age" in the history of U.S. cultural relations with Latin America.

The major achievement of the Division during 1941–1942 was the development and consolidation of a limited but lasting network of cooperative relationships with individuals and organizations throughout the United States and Latin America. In carrying out the exchange-of-persons programs, the bright spot was the program of travel grants recently authorized by Congress outside the framework of the cumbersome requirements under the Buenos Aires Convention. This made possible a rapid expansion of the exchange program. After all, even with the maximum implementation of the student and professor exchanges under the Convention arrangements, the total could never exceed more than 40 student exchanges and 20 professor exchanges annually in each direction. This maximum was never reached because of the procedural delays, the inability of some countries to make their required financial contribution, and the obstacles of wartime travel. Under the Buenos Aires Convention, by January 1942 grants had been awarded to 27 Latin American students, 19 U.S. students, and 3 exchange professors. Under the program outside the framework of the Convention arrangements, 56 grants had already been awarded to Latin American educational, professional, and artistic leaders, 8 grants to U.S. leaders, 66 grants to Latin American students, and 12 grants to U.S. students.[7]

Equally important was the role of the Department in encouraging professional organizations to develop closer ties between their members and colleagues in the Latin American countries. The strengthening of such relationships was most notable in the fields of medicine and dentistry, resulting in more frequent travel by specialists in both directions to attend professional meetings. The Division not only assisted in the travel arrangements but also took advantage of the opportunity to facilitate and arrange lectures by the visiting specialists while in the host country.

The largest Government-sponsored exchange-of-persons programs, however, continued to be those financed by the Coordinator's Office. The Division of Cultural Relations could claim much credit for this part of the program, as it did in its annual budget requests to Congress, since it provided policy guidance on virtually a day-to-day basis in the development of the Coordinator's exchange programs, and facilitated or participated directly in the U.S. program arrangements for the grantees being brought to the United States in increasing numbers by that agency.

Before proceeding with a fuller account of the evolution of the Division's Latin American cultural program from 1942 onward, brief mention should be made of the findings of a congressional inspection trip to Latin America by members of the House Appropriations Subcommittee for the State Department, which took place from August 11 to October 8, 1941. The report published in December 1941 made a number of recommendations which the Division of Cultural Relations attempted to carry out.[8] The general conclusion of the report was that "the various projects that are being carried on, at a relatively modest cost, in Latin America by numerous agencies of our Government may be regarded, generally, as efficacious and productive of results."[9] The report spoke highly of the exchange-of-persons program. It recommended better coordination in the field, greater reciprocity, better selection of U.S. grantees; the need for improving language teaching programs in the United States; more effective radio, news, and film efforts; greater assistance to cultural institutes and American schools "both moral and financial"; more book translations; and more training programs for Latin Americans in specialized skills in business, trade, and industry. The report was highly critical of the behavior of many U.S. tourists on private "good will tours." The report noted, "In some cases the tours had exactly the opposite effect than was intended, that is, they engendered bad will rather than good will." The report recommended that the Department should publish a brochure to be given to all tourists to Latin America with emphasis on basic good manners.

It was clear that the Administration expected the Division to center its attention on the war effort. In an address at the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association in New York on December 31, 1941, Charles Thomson, Chief of the Division, in describing "The Role of Cultural Exchange in Wartime," emphasized the more practical direction that the program was now taking in this regard. Thomson stated,

> ". . . it becomes evident that cultural relations have a wider field than that usually covered by the term 'intellectual coopera-

> tion.' They should contribute not only to that understanding which comes from interchange in education, scholarship, and the arts, but also provide effective cooperation for the achievement of economic advance and social welfare. Through exchange fellowships and professorships, the loan of experts, special training opportunities for technicians and interns, the cultural relations program should facilitate cooperative action in the economic and social field."[10]

Thomson described at great length the Division's fine distinctions between "propaganda" of the Nazi variety which he compared to advertising, and "cultural relations" of the type the Division was pursuing, which he described as "the creation of a state of mind properly called 'understanding.'"[11] Thomson was appealing to the academic community in the United States to recognize its role in the war effort and to participate more fully.

In December 1941 and January 1942, beginning only a week after Pearl Harbor, the Division submitted several memoranda to the Under Secretary and to other top State Department officials calling attention to the contributions the Division was making to the war effort.[12] It gave a number of examples of what the Division considered to be its most important contributions toward that effort: favorably influencing the molders of public opinion in the Americas, and thereby building mutual understanding and cooperation both for the present and the future.

These memoranda emphasized that, with U.S. attention turning increasingly to other areas of the world, it was essential to assure the people of the Latin American countries of the necessity of our support and friendship, and therefore of fundamental importance to carry forward and in some phases to intensify the cultural program. With prospects of transportation difficulties restricting the movement of persons it was pointed out that the emphasis of the travel grant program was being placed on those who would have a more immediate influence on public opinion, such as journalists and writers. Also, greater attention would be given to strengthening cultural institutes as centers of U.S. influence in the principal cities of Latin America, and presenting the United States more vigorously as a great democracy through radio and motion pictures, and books and translations. The following paragraph from the December 17 memorandum entitled "The Work of the Division of Cultural Relations with Respect to the Defense Effort" attempts to define the "shift of emphasis" that the Division was attempting to formulate to demonstrate its direct role in the war effort:

> "The changes in the Division's program brought about by the declaration of war are . . . not so much in objective—the primary objective of helping build up inter-American solidarity

> through cultural relations is more important now than ever before—as in a shift of emphasis. The exchange of persons remains vitally important, but at this moment it is the editor, the writer who molds the thought of his people, the radio commentator, the cartoonist, the technician, and the scientist who can be of most aid to hemisphere defense in the cultural field. The radio and the motion picture are increasingly significant; as is the work on the ground of the cultural institutes. Publications are an integral and necessary factor in the immediate, as in the long-term, program, but here too the change from a nation at peace to a nation at war means that what is written and what is translated should bear directly toward that unity of the Americas which guarantees eventual victory." [13]

Examples were given in the memorandum of newspaper articles and addresses by recent grantees that illustrated the accomplishment of these goals, and attention was called to films being distributed abroad as "an immediate and important means of reaching large audiences" with such titles as *Sky Fighters*, *Sailors with Wings*, and *What So Proudly We Hail*.[14]

In a memorandum of January 15, 1942, for the Bureau of the Budget, the Division defined the factors which would determine its course during the war in similarly fine distinctions which affirmed the maintenance of the fundamental objective of the program as that of promoting a reciprocal and sympathetic understanding of each other's national culture or way of life as essential to a harmonious political relationship between peoples, "for the defense of their common interests." [15] The memorandum added, "The pursuit of this objective can be facilitated by any contributions which a nation favored by greater wealth or degree of technical attainment may be able to make to other nations less fortunately situated in either respect for the better implementing of their national life." [16] It recognized "the advisability of a temporary change of emphasis in certain fields of the program," as noted earlier, and at the same time repeated that "any radical reorientation of the program at this time or slackening of its activities would undo much of the results gained so far and later make it difficult to resume the program on lines successfully followed in peaceful times. A curtailment of the program or marked shift of stress would only confirm the suspicions of those Latin Americans who still tend to consider it as a passing phase of inter-American relations." [17]

The memorandum pointed out the importance of deemphasizing or clarifying the emergency element in the cultural relations program, not by minimizing the immediate problems raised by the war, but by clearly recognizing their special character as distinct from the normal long-range objectives of the program. It emphasized that the distinction between cultural relations and propaganda should be kept clear, the former being the role of the Division, the latter falling under the emergency responsibilities of the Coordinator's Office.[18] The importance, the memorandum stressed, was not the medium—radio, motion pictures, books, etc.—but the content. To illustrate, the Division noted that a motion picture featuring American airplane production was propaganda immediately concerned with the problem of winning the war, whereas a film on heart surgery in U.S. hospitals or U.S. farm methods, or cultural life would belong in the field of cultural relations. Yet the Division lacked funds to give substance to these distinctions. In the field of book donations, for example, its modest activities were still based entirely on a small transfer of funds from the Coordinator's Office.

Another example of this problem was the increasing role of the Division in working with Pan American associations in the United States, which were not only helping to acquaint an important segment of the public with the cultures of the Latin American countries, but were providing hospitality in many cities for visiting travel grantees, activities intimately related to the cultural role of the Division. But again the Coordinator's Office was the only source of Government financial assistance. The Division emphasized, therefore, that one of the most pressing problems was to define more carefully the separate objectives and responsibilities of the two agencies.[19] During the war years the Division fought bravely to keep clearly before the public its distinct separation of propaganda activities—immediately and solely concerned with the problem of winning the war, from those activities of long-range and strictly cultural character. It kept repeating that the latter dealt with the normal, peacetime aspects of a nation's life, and that the two should not be confused in the minds of those to whom both kinds of efforts were directed.

The accomplishments of the Division of Cultural Relations during the period from Pearl Harbor until the end of the war were quite impressive both in strengthening the broad and continuing goals of the program as pursued since the late 1930's, and in reducing Axis influence in the Latin American countries. The Department of State was at the center of a total war effort, and the Division was the focal point in the Department in coordinating the cultural relations activities of the various permanent and war emergency agencies involved in one way or another in such activities.

In the case of the activities of the Coordinator's Office, the Division played a major role in policy determination, facilitation of projects, and a program role in exchange-of-persons projects funded by the Coordinator's Office. The major program activities of the

Division were those involving the exchange of professors, students, leaders, and specialists. It also was directly involved in educational radio and motion picture projects; books and periodicals programs, including translations; and a cultural gifts program. And it played a large and important policy and facilitative role both in the United States and abroad with regard to radio broadcasting and programming, motion pictures, books and translations, art and music activities, cultural institutes, U.S. libraries, American-sponsored schools, technical training projects, and related programs that were funded by the Coordinator's Office, by Government agencies allocated funds for exchange activities under the Interdepartmental Committee appropriation, and in cooperation with the elements of the private sector represented by the members and consultants to the Division's General Advisory Committee.

At this point we must turn for a moment to another major concern of the Division throughout the war years, mentioned earlier: planning for the postwar role of the United States in worldwide cultural relations activities. Until the end of the war this was to become a central task and major preoccupation of policymakers in the Department, so the Division was assigned the responsibility for spearheading the necessary research and formulating concrete plans. It was a gigantic task, and for several years it was the principal theme discussed at the periodic meetings of the General Advisory Committee, which represented some of the leading authorities in the country in the field of international relations who could contribute to serious planning of this magnitude. It involved consultation and discussion with many specialists in and out of the Government and many staff studies. The basic problems were outlined in a policy memorandum of February 9, 1942, prepared by the Division of Cultural Relations with the cooperation of the Division of Political Studies in the Department, entitled "The Permanent Cultural Relations Program as a Basic Instrumentality of American Foreign Policy." [20] It was based on earlier recommendations of the General Advisory Committee. Although the major theaters of the war were the focus of attention at that time, and the role that Latin America might play in the future picture receded from the view of the policymakers, the concerns as stated in the memorandum were all-embracing in their implications.

The memorandum began by referring to the President's approval of the extension of the Department's cultural relations program to the Far East in 1942 which inaugurated the active expansion of the program beyond the Western Hemisphere. It emphasized the need for "a consideration of the program as an instrumentality of American foreign policy in the post-war years and its place in the international cultural movements that can be anticipated."[21] It pointed out that to date the U.S. Government's cultural program had in view exclusively national objectives, noting that "both the Department's program and all emergency cultural activities have been America-centered and bilateral in viewpoint: between the United States and given separate countries or groups of countries," but that "current developments indicate that international cultural relations in the future will require that our aim be multilateral."[22] It then emphasized that the underlying goal of the Atlantic Declaration was to construct after the war a more stable world order both with respect to the maintenance of peace and to the achievement of the freedom, economic advancements, and various forms of security demanded by the peoples of all nations. It noted that through U.S. initiative the 26 "United Nations" and the Latin American countries had unanimously pledged their acceptance of the Atlantic Declaration as the foundation of the postwar order. The memorandum then stated:

> "The content of the cultural relations program must henceforth, while maintaining its function as to the arts and the cultivated intellectual interests that are the hallmarks of civilization, more closely touch the lives and needs, the hopes and aspirations, not of the advantaged classes alone, but of the less articulate peoples of the world as well . . . It can for example facilitate interchange of information concerning advances in farming and industry and government, sanitation and health and nutrition, schools and texts, town and city improvement, social well-being, roads, child welfare, labor protection, and similar matters of help and interest in the daily lives of people. And it can, again, adapt its exchanges of students, professors, technicians and other experts, its motion picture and radio activities, its institutes and conferences, its function in coordinating the activities of private and official agencies, to facilitate better contacts and development in such fields . . . The responsibility of our Government in these steps must be considered to place on the Department's permanent cultural relations program a definite obligation as one of the basic instrumentalities for modifying international relations and attitudes, and for maintaining a better stabilized world order . . . Our leadership in international action in the cultural field will be as decisively necessary as in the political and economic fields."[23]

The memorandum recommended that as soon as the necessary staff could be obtained a series of studies should be initiated to determine the type of international cultural machinery needed for the postwar years and the most effective and most desirable means for coordinating our national cultural program with the international cultural relations of the postwar years. The memorandum was approved by the higher officers of the Department with the request that the Division of Cultural Relations prepare a concrete program.[24] As a result a specific research program was drawn up comprising three basic studies: a comparative study of the cultural relations programs of other countries; a study of the organization and scope of existing or suspended international intellectual, scientific, and cultural organizations, for the purpose of indicating what form of international organization would be desirable after the war; and a plan for a concrete, long-term program of cultural relations for the United States in the postwar period. With the appointment of Dr. Ralph E. Turner to head up the research unit the project was underway.[25]

It soon became evident that such plans would involve a complexity of international relationships following the war, and that among other things there would be need for a strong international organization, set apart from nationally oriented activities, launched on a cooperative international basis capable of enlisting worldwide support, working through international organizations and through the intellectual leaders of other countries. The work of such an organization would require specialists in many fields in which there was a shortage of trained personnel, and many special surveys would be needed. Discussion immediately revolved around these wide-ranging ideas.

At the meeting of the General Advisory Committee on June 19, 1942, Dr. Shotwell cautioned that the weakness of the earlier effort in the field of international cultural relations following World War I was that it began in the realms farthest removed from either public education or culture in the broadest sense and was never brought in touch with those levels. The new effort, he urged, should be toward correcting this defect and establishing a well thought out plan of intellectual cooperation which would enlist the active support of intellectual leaders in the United Nations and, it was hoped, in other countries.

Cherrington emphasized that the selection of problems for immediate study by the Division's research unit would depend in part on the long-term objectives as determined by policy. He felt that national policy must be established before the directives of the research program could be drawn up. He stated that a fundamental issue was involved, namely, is cultural relations a matter of nationalism or is it to be an instrument international in concept? He helped narrow the discussion to more realistic dimensions by suggesting that the first step should be a study of the possibilities of maintaining cultural relations among the group comprising the "United Nations," a study later to be enlarged in scope to include cultural interchange during the interim period, and looking toward a permanent program on a worldwide basis in the future. It was generally agreed that it was not possible or practicable to undertake all of the proposed studies at once, and that some should be prepared in the Division and others by outside agencies. It was also felt that the research and analysis should evaluate the effects of programs and provide guidance for shaping them in the light of changing conditions.[26]

By the end of the year the Division had completed a number of memoranda on the subject which served as the basis for an important 2-day meeting of the General Advisory Committee on February 23–24, 1943.[27] The questions discussed were: Should cultural relations programs be used to implement foreign policy? Should temporary cultural relations programs be formulated for the war and the immediate postwar period? What should be the plan for conducting the cultural relations program on a permanent worldwide basis? What should be the role of the Department of State in the educational reconstruction of the war-torn countries after the war?

The opening discussions, chaired by Dr. Shotwell, were on the first two questions. Turner opened a lively expression of differing viewpoints by stating that whatever may have been the past history with regard to foreign policy, circumstances now called for a reconsideration and reexamination of thinking on the subject. He stated that if cultural relations in the past had been at the periphery of foreign relations, perhaps in the new situation into which the world was moving cultural relations were at the heart. He added that possibly this might be revealed only through the formulation of a new conception of foreign policy involving a clearer definition of the relationship of cultural relations to it. He expressed the view that cultural relations should be considered as a basic instrumentality "to implement foreign policy." On this last point the reaction from Shotwell, Leland, Duggan, Cherrington, Shuster, Milam, and Caldwell was completely negative.

Leland believed that if the objective of foreign policy was accepted as the promotion of those conditions which make possible peaceful relationships throughout the world, any misgivings concerning the use of a cultural relations program "to implement" such a policy would be allayed. He pointed out, however, that the objectives of foreign policy might change and therefore he feared that once cultural relations programs became the servant of foreign policy there would be nothing to prevent their continuing in that capacity.

Duggan added that any implication of a tie-in between cultural interchange and foreign policy would invalidate the effect of the cultural activities. He believed that cultural relations activities should not be used to carry out deliberately a foreign policy; otherwise they ceased to be cultural relations and became propaganda.

Cherrington shared these doubts. He believed that the program should be directed toward free cultural growth on an international basis in the expectation that this in itself would provide a suitable world climate in which international peace and security, and hence the security of the American people might grow. He believed that if one nation were to use a cultural program to advance national policies, other nations might assume the same privilege, and therefore it was in our interest to divorce cultural relations from foreign policy.

Milam expressed the view that "the objectives of cultural activities and the people who engaged in them should remain simple—the advancement and diffusion of knowledge throughout the world in the belief that a climate would thereby be created for the propagation of the type of foreign policy for this nation and for other nations in which the American people believe." He thought that the U.S. Government's cultural program could adhere to these fundamental objectives, which he believed were a sincere manifestation of our internal national policy, regardless of changing elements in U.S. foreign policy.

Caldwell also emphasized the dangers inherent in an attempt to develop a cultural program as a conscious implement of foreign policy and stated that it would be counterproductive if the program were not based upon the desires and needs of the foreign peoples involved.

Kefauver took a slightly different stance. He stated that in his opinion cultural relations should not be an implement to foreign policy, but really one aspect of it. He pointed out the fact that in a world growing continually smaller in a physical sense, the influence of the cultural aspect would become greater, and that the culture of the United States would influence developments of other countries and would in turn be influenced by them. Commenting on the fears expressed that a Government-directed program might be manipulated toward certain objectives, he stated that the essential point was that the question was simply that of carrying out a "wise" policy.

Representatives of the Office of the Political Adviser and the Division of Political Studies in the State Department in attendance at the meeting countered that foreign policy was being interpreted in the discussion in a very limited sense and that the issue being discussed was more apparent than real. Notter stated that in his own opinion the policy of the state toward other states, in contrast to earlier conceptions, encompassed all the relationships between their peoples. He said that to suppose that a cultural program could be conducted unrelated to that policy was "preposterous."

He added that peoples and cultures have always affected each other and that nothing that happens within or without a country could be totally divorced from its foreign policy. He believed that the point for argument seemed to be at what point do these things come to bear upon the formulation of policy. In his opinion the essential question was: At what phase in the formulation of foreign policy shall cultural relations be used as an implement?

Thomson stated that, as he saw it, the road to follow was one between two concepts which were both unacceptable—one, that cultural relations should be used as a mere tool of political or economic policy, and the other, that cultural relations could exist in a vacuum, set apart from these other elements of foreign policy. As a concrete example, he stated that obviously a great part of the cultural program of the Department and that of the Coordinator's Office had been conceived and planned to implement the Good Neighbor Policy, and that the connection between a cultural relations program and that policy had been clear. The conclusion which he believed might be drawn from the experience and acceptance of this program was that cultural relations did indeed implement certain phases of foreign policy—the long-term development rather than short-term objectives, that they must inevitably be related to those long-term phases of foreign policy which grow out of the whole viewpoint of a people. Thomson read a communication from Under Secretary Welles with reference to the series of memoranda under discussion stating that he was reserving final comment until he had the benefit of the views of the Committee. Welles posed the following questions:

> "Should a true cultural relations program be used to implement the foreign policy of any one country; or should it provide a vehicle for the interchange of ideas and the deepening of understanding in order to aid people in the determination of their destiny?
>
> "In addition to the application of the techniques of cultural interchange already developed in our inter-American cultural program the content of which principally involved 'the arts and the cultivated interests which are the hallmarks of civilization,' is it not of equal if indeed of greater importance that there be developed the exchange of information and skills directly relating to the health, welfare, and general standard of living and education of the masses of the world population?
>
> "Should not the possible establishment and operation of an international cultural organization be considered principally in the light of its usefulness as an instrument for the implementation of the foregoing principles on a worldwide scale?
>
> "The general drift of this documentation is that we have more to give than to learn. Is this a sound premise?" [28]

After considering the various views that had been expressed, the General Advisory Committee unanimously approved the following resolution embodying the trend of its thinking, as a basis for later discussion:

> "1. The General Advisory Committee of the Division of Cultural Relations urges the vigorous development of cultural relations between the people of the United States and other free peoples of the world, for the purpose of fostering helpful international relations on a basis of mutual understanding and appreciation.
>
> "2. The Committee conceives the program of cultural relations as a long-term program of continuing activities, which should, however, be realistically adaptable to changing circumstances and needs, whether in normal times or in times of emergency.
>
> "3. The Committee believes that the program should be as broad as intellectual and cultural activities themselves. It includes interchanges in all fields of the arts, sciences, technology, letters, and education, and throughout the entire range of economic and social life.
>
> "4. The interchanges should be of value to all countries participating in them; they should extend to all groups of the population; they should serve to promote human welfare; and they should help to preserve intellectual and cultural freedom.
>
> "In amplification of these principles be it resolved that the General Advisory Committee affirms: Cultural relations programs may serve a constructive purpose of peculiar significance within the framework of the foreign policy of the United States, in so far as that policy attempts to form a climate of mutual international understanding and to seek as goals to be attained as rapidly as possible (a) the free exchange of ideas and information, particularly, as these relate to health, economic and social welfare, and general cultural advancement of the people, and (b) the establishing and maintaining of a peaceful, secure, and cooperative world order." [29]

Important decisions were made at these Committee meetings on the course to be followed in the future development of the Division's cultural relations program. In subsequent discussions on this subject Cherrington urged that in planning for a permanent program in areas outside the Western Hemisphere—especially in Europe, the Middle East, and the Far East, building on the Latin American experience and the temporary war emergency program in these areas—the key intellectuals and educational institutions throughout the country should be "let in on the ground floor" to assure their support as a bulwark of sympathetic understanding and cooperation in any future developments. He emphasized that it was essential. He referred to the earlier conferences, drawing in individuals and private agencies in the cultural field, which had preceded the organization of the Division of Cultural Relations. He believed that under the pressure of translating into action these worldwide plans, the maintenance of this close relationship with individuals throughout the country was being neglected by the Division.[30]

Since it was contemplated that the Division of Cultural Relations in the Department of State would be the focal point for the worldwide cultural interchange program envisaged after the war, various alternatives were discussed as to how it should be administered. It was clear that there would be a two-pronged role of the Division and its cultural officers abroad: the Government's regular bilateral cultural relations program, an extension and adaptation worldwide of the Latin American program, with a series of programs touching many cultural areas; and involvement in international cultural and intellectual activity worldwide working perhaps through national U.S. cultural organizations with international affiliates and directly with international organizations. Although the prospects were unpredictable, as time went on it soon became clearer that these developments would not all come at once, but would be gradual, and that what was to emerge would be an extension worldwide of the basic techniques and policies developed in the hemisphere program. If this proved to be the case, the base of the private agency relationships on which the program had been established would have to be broadened. In addition, U.S. educational agencies oriented to other geographic areas would have to be called upon and brought into the broader program pattern and long-term planning. Cherrington emphasized that the Division should move rapidly to assure continuity and collaboration with all elements of the private sector, and to avoid the creation of a vast and unwieldy operation with the Division carrying the burden alone. The matter was discussed more fully, and on the recommendation of the Advisory Committee it was agreed that the Division should proceed to broaden the base of its relationships with the private sector along the lines developed under the Latin American program without any basic change in its existing administrative and operational structure.[31]

The experience of the Coordinator's program and the programs initiated with China and the Middle East in 1942 and 1943 made it clear that legislation similar to the war emergency authority to transfer funds from wartime agencies to private organizations under contract for specific projects would be needed by the Division in carrying out its postwar program. The Coordinator's Office had been unable to finance existing organizations or to create new ones adequate to administer certain types of projects until it was granted such authority. The Department had recently requested Congress to approve appropriation language under which it could make the same type of contract with private agencies. The need was highlighted by the exchange program initiated in the Middle East under the President's Emergency Fund.

Here, for example, financial assistance was to be given to nonsectarian educational institutions in the area that were in financial straits, including the American University in Beirut and Robert College in Istanbul. These institutions were long established and accepted in the area as private philanthropic and educational enterprises. It was agreed that U.S. Government funds would be acceptable only if provided through a contract with a nongovernment body of competence and recognized integrity, with no implication of control or direction. The example of such an agency which came readily to mind in this instance was the Near East College Association, and it eventually became the recipient of U.S. Government funds for the purpose indicated.

At its meeting of February 24, 1943, the Advisory Committee passed the following resolution:

> "The General Advisory Committee expresses the earnest hope that the Cultural Relations Division be empowered to carry out projects either through its own personnel or, when desirable, by contract with, or grant to, private and other governmental agencies which are deemed suitable for the special objectives in view."[32]

After its meeting on June 9, 1943, the Committee adopted the following resolutions with regard to the extension of the program of cultural relations:

> "1. The General Advisory Committee strongly approves the extension of the program of cultural relations of the Department of State to the countries of the Far East, particularly China, and to the countries of the Near East, and recommends that the Department seek legislative and budgetary provision for the maintenance of such programs on a long-term basis.
>
> "2. The General Advisory Committee desires to emphasize the importance, in the interest of any program of international cultural relations, of a high degree of understanding on the part of the people of the United States with respect to the countries and their people with which such relations are maintained. The Committee believes that public and private agencies should encourage the promotion of scholarly and scientific research that is the indispensable foundation of such understanding, and that adequate and informed instruction, at all educational levels, respecting other countries, their geography and history, their peoples and cultures, and the nature and history of the relations between them and the United States, should be made available.
>
> "3. The General Advisory Committee believes that American institutions in foreign countries, such as schools, colleges, educational organizations, etc., that have demonstrated their effectiveness and the distinterested character of their activities and that

have been accepted by the countries in which they are situated as useful and desirable agencies, may serve in many ways as participants in the governmental program of cultural relations. The Advisory Committee insists, however, that such service should not restrict in any way the autonomy of such institutions, nor make them dependent on government support, nor subordinate their educational aims to the political or economic policies of the Government." [33]

At the conclusion of the June 10 session the Advisory Committee adopted the following resolutions which were submitted to the Department of State:

> "The General Advisory Committee assumes that the postwar position of the United States will be one of sustained political, economic and cultural cooperation with the other countries of the world.
>
> "The Committee is agreed that any program of educational rehabilitation and reconstruction should be a collective program of the United Nations, to which the United States will make its appropriate and collectively agreed upon contribution. . . .
>
> "The Committee believes that an international agency for educational relations and cooperation is an essential part of any provisional or permanent world organization, and recommends that the Department of State should actively explore the possibility of the early organization of such an agency.
>
> "The Committee expresses its gratification that the Division of Cultural Relations has established a working liaison with the Office of Foreign Relief and Rehabilitation Operations and with the military authorities responsible for the organization of military government of occupied areas, for the consideration of problems of educational reconstruction, and that the Division is engaged in the continuing study of such problems. The Committee recommends that the Department seek budgetary provision for the support of the studies carried on by the Division of Cultural Relations." [34]

On January 7, 1944, the Department called together a group of about 30 educators to consider the problems of educational rehabilitation of the war-torn countries. At this meeting Dr. Ralph Turner reported on his trip as an observer at the Conference of Allied Ministers of Education at London in October 1943. Assistant Secretary G. Howland Shaw opened the session by pointing out that the Department would continue to call upon the educational community for its cooperation in thinking through the policies to be pursued on these matters. He then added:

> "We have arrived at fairly clear ideas as to what we should not do. We should not, for instance, seek to impose any educational program or system upon the liberated Axis countries. We have also thought that it would be unwise to try to train in this country and send to the liberated countries any considerable

> body of teachers. And, finally, we have thought that it would be distinctly unwise to endeavor to prepare textbooks for use in the schools of the liberated areas. Our idea has been that we ought to think along two lines. First, what can we do to restore the educational and cultural set-up in liberated areas from the material point of view . . . And, secondly, and perhaps more important, opening the American universities, colleges, and technical schools and other educational facilities to carefully selected persons from the liberated countries."

In the discussion which followed, there was general agreement that the United States should join in a provisional democratically organized U.N. conference, and should eventually participate in a permanent international agency for cooperation in educational and cultural fields. These conclusions, incorporated in a final conference statement, added that, "The Conference believes that participation in a United Nations Agency, provisional or permanent, should be supplemented by bilateral agreements between the United States and other countries to give effect to special, mutually advantageous arrangements." It affirmed that the Department could rely on the full cooperation of the educational community in developing its cultural relations policies, concluding with the following statement:

> "The Conference believes that the practice adopted by the Division of Cultural Relations, from its creation, of broad and frequent consultations with American educational and cultural organizations, institutions, agencies, and interests, is a guarantee that the policies of the Government in those fields will be determined by a democratic process and will be representative of informed public opinion." [35]

Notes

CHAPTER IX

1. "Minutes of the General Advisory Committee," September 18, 1941, pp. 34-35, NA, RG 353, SCC, Boxes 1 and 29. At this meeting, which met specifically to discuss the long-range aspects of the cultural relations program, Cherrington read a three-page statement entitled "Planning for the Cultural Relations Program" in which he emphasized that the cultural program should immediately take a more nearly worldwide sweep, which reflected the views of the others present. He stated:

   "It would appear that provision for cultural or intellectual relations abroad is destined to be a permanent and increasingly important aspect of modern governments . . . It is suggested that it is neither possible nor desirable following the conflict to confine to the western hemisphere the Government's cultural relations activities . . . The war's termination will be followed by a long period of restoration and reconstruction the duration of which no one can now predict. It is suggested that the United States should prepare at once for the fullest possible participation in the reconstruction of the scientific, educational and other cultural phases of European life and other needy areas of the world. In keeping with the American tradition the task should be assigned to the nation's cultural organizations with the full support and cooperation of the Federal Government . . . No matter how long the interim period, it is hoped that eventually order and peace will be restored in the world. We should not be concerned exclusively with the reconstruction period, but should give thought to the program and machinery of cultural relations to be established when the time for more permanent building has arrived . . . of course . . . conditioned by the world situation of those days." *Ibid.*, pp. 58–60.

2. Wilma Fairbank, *America's Cultural Experiment in China, 1942–1949* (Washington, D.C.: Historical Studies, Number 1, Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs, Dept. of State, U.S. Government Printing Office, 1976); Murray Lawson, *The United States Information Agency: A History, Origins, 1933–1945*, vol. I, U.S. Information Agency, Washington, D.C., 1970. Unfinished manuscript, vol. 1, ch. 3, pp. 71–80; Helen R. Pinkney, "The Division of Cultural Cooperation," Dept. of State, Dec. 1945, pp. 48–63, NA, RG 59, WHB, Box 10; Haldore Hanson, *The Cultural-Cooperation Program, 1938–1943* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1944).
3. Memorandum of Conversation, Shaw and Thomson, Mar. 4, 1942, NA, RG 59, WHB, Box 55; "Minutes of the General Advisory Committee," June 20, 1942, *op. cit.*, p. 28. Dr. Turner, the author of *The Great Cultural Tradition*, published in 1941, was formerly with the Board of Economic Warfare and the Social Security Board, and was a lecturer on intellectual history at the American University, Washington, D.C.
4. *News Bulletin*, Institute of International Education, XXI (Dec. 1, 1945), p. 13.
5. Laurence Duggan, *The Americas* (New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1949), p. 102.
6. *Ibid.*, pp. 102, 107, 160.
7. "The Program of the Department of State in Cultural Relations," reprinted from the *House Hearings, Department of State Appropriation Bill for 1943* [hereinafter cited as *House Hearings, (year)*] (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1942), pp. 6, 7; "The Program of Cultural Relations of the Government of the United States," n.d., p. 6. NA, RG 59, WHB, Box 55.
8. *House Hearings, 1943*, pp. 521–537.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 522.
10. *Department of State Bulletin*, VI (Jan. 3, 1942), p. 31.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 30.
12. Memorandum, Thomson to Bonsal, Duggan, Shaw, and Welles, Dec. 15, 1941, entitled "Work of the Division of Cultural Relations with Respect to the Defense Effort," and a more detailed memorandum, Thomson to Shaw, under the same title, Dec. 17, 1941, NA, RG 53, WHB, Box 53; memorandum, Thomson to Shaw and Frank, Jan. 15, 1941, *ibid.* See also *Report of the Division of Cultural Relations*, Dec. 1941, pp. 1–2.

13. *Op. cit.*, p. 5.
14. *Ibid.*, p. 3.
15. *Op. cit.*, p. 1.
16. *Ibid.*
17. *Ibid.*, p. 2.
18. *Ibid.*, pp. 3–4, 7–8.
19. *Ibid.*, pp. 8–11.
20. Dept. of State memorandum, Thomson to Pasvolsky, Shaw, Acheson, Long, Berle, Welles, and Hull, NA, RG 59, WHB, Box 55.
21. *Ibid.*, p. 1.
22. *Ibid.*, pp. 1–2.
23. *Ibid.*, pp. 4–5. The statement quoted above to the effect that the cultural relations program should henceforth "more closely touch the lives and needs . . . not of the advantaged classes alone, but of the less articulate peoples of the world as well," reflected the view of Vice President Wallace, a member of the General Advisory Committee, strongly advocated at every opportunity with regard to Latin America. He emphasized that now, under the criterion of "first things first," there should be a major shift in this direction in U.S. relations with Latin America. He said, "In Latin America the underprivileged constitute at least 90 percent of the people. The conclusion to be drawn is that we must therefore direct our program toward the mental and moral encouragement of that 90 percent, for in the final analysis it is the people who will decide the success or failure of our efforts in these countries." He stated that the United States should assist in increasing the productivity of their labor, raising their standard of living, adding, "We must carry through on our projects, produce tangible results, which will convince the rank and file of the people that we stand for the New Deal in all the Americas." "Minutes of the General Advisory Committee," Feb. 26, 1942, *op. cit.*, pp. 26–28.
24. Dept. of State memorandum, Shaw to Yardley, Mar. 9, 1942, NA, RG 59, WHB, Box 55.
25. See note 3 above.
26. "Minutes of the General Advisory Committee" June 19, 1942, *op. cit.*, pp. 20–36.
27. *Ibid.*, Feb. 23–24, 1943, pp. 1–18. The principal participants in the discussion were: the 10 members of the General Advisory Committee: Robert G. Caldwell, Dean of Humanities, Massachusetts Institute of Technology; Ben M. Cherrington, Director of the Foundation for the Advancement of the Social Sciences, University of Denver; Stephen Duggan, Director of the Institute of International Education; Waldo G. Leland, Director of the American Council of Learned Societies; Archibald MacLeish, the Librarian of Congress; Carl H. Milam, Secretary of the American Library Association; George N. Shuster, President of Hunter College; James T. Shotwell, Chairman of the National Committee of the United States of America on International Intellectual Cooperation; Charles A. Thomson, Director of the Division of Cultural Relations of the Dept. of State; and Henry A. Wallace, Vice President of the United States. Other State Dept. participants included Herbert H. Lehman, Director of the Office of Foreign Relief and Rehabilitation Operations; Stanley A. Hornbeck, Political Adviser; and Harley A. Notter, chief, Division of Political Studies. Top officials from the Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs, the

U.S. Office of Education, and the Office of the Provost Marshal General of the War Department also participated. Those from outside Government included Guy Stanton Ford, Executive Secretary of the American Historical Association, and Grayson N. Kefauver, Dean of the School of Education, Stanford University.

28. *Ibid.*, pp. 15–15a.
29. *Ibid.*, pp. 17–18.
30. *Ibid.*, Feb. 24, 1943, pp. 46–47.
31. *Ibid.*, pp. 47–49.
32. *Ibid.*, p. 49. See also, *Report of the Division of Cultural Relations*, Apr. 1, 1943, pp. 1, 11–12.
33. "Minutes of the General Advisory Committee," June 9, 1943, *op. cit.*, p. 15. The other major discussion at this meeting was on a temporary cultural relations program for the war and immediate postwar period, and the role of the Department in the postwar reconstruction of war-torn Europe. The minutes on these sessions contain information on the thinking in the Dept. at that time on these subjects, including the ideas already under discussion here and abroad concerning a proposed international office of education and UNESCO-type organization.

    Basic concepts on the "denazification" and educational reorientation of Germany in the postwar period, and postwar relief, rehabilitation, and reconstruction in war-torn areas were also discussed. In these last two areas of activity the War Department and the Office of Foreign Relief and Rehabilitation Operations were already engaged in specific planning and training of staff to carry out such plans. In discussing the problems of reeducation and cultural rehabilitation in Europe at the meeting of June 10, 1943, Dr. C. W. deKieweit, Professor of European History at Cornell University, who had been invited to participate in the discussions as an observer, made the interesting suggestion that perhaps it would be possible after the war to envisage indemnities, such as the Boxer Indemnity Fund, which could be utilized for such purposes.
34. *Ibid.*, June 10, 1943, pp. 26–27.
35. *Report of Science, Education and Art Division*, Jan. 1944, pp. 10–14.

CHAPTER X

Cultural Relations During the War Years: II

ALTHOUGH THE CONGRESS authorized substantial budget increases for the Division's exchange-of-persons program with Latin America from 1942 to 1945, they were below the levels requested. The Division strongly believed that it was essential at that period in world affairs to more than double the size of its cultural program with Latin America. This would permit the exchange of a larger number and the inclusion of a broader range of persons—journalists, persons in social welfare, and leaders of farm and labor groups, government administrators, technicians, and secondary school teachers—"who are in a position to interpret the United States to the masses of the people." [1]

For the 1942 fiscal year $100,000 had been appropriated by Congress for the Buenos Aires Convention exchanges of professors and students, and $117,000 for leaders, professors, and students outside the Convention arrangements, or a total of $217,000 for exchange of persons,[2] compared to $151,500 for the same items in fiscal year 1941.

The 1943 fiscal year budget request to Congress for the Buenos Aires Convention exchanges was $137,300 and for the exchange of leaders, professors, and students outside the Convention arrangements $715,000, or a total of $852,300.[3] Congressional appropriations for fiscal year 1943 totaled $675,586, including $100,000 for the Buenos Aires Convention exchanges.[4] The Division's original proposal for that fiscal year, which anticipated the transfer of exchange-of-persons programs from the Coordinator that year, with a congressional appropriation as part of the Division's budget, had totaled $1,727,000 for exchange-of-persons grants, exclusive of exchanges under the Convention.[5] But this action by Congress was to await the next fiscal year. An important change in the mix of exchanges took place in the winter of 1942 with the decision of the Department of State to suspend all grants for students, men and women, from the United States for the duration of the war because of the demands of the war on the manpower supply in the United States.[6]

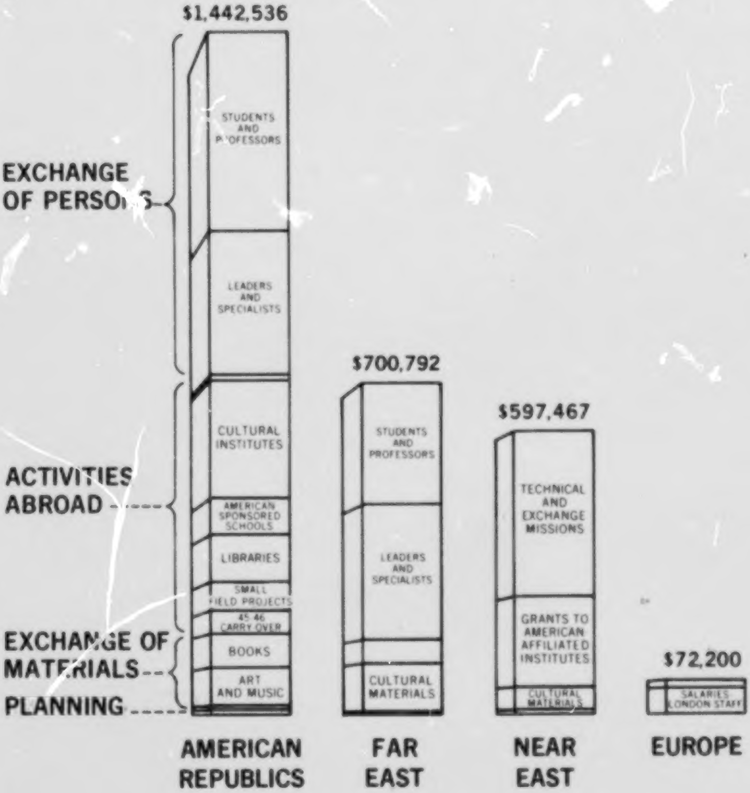
At this juncture, Senator Hugh Butler of Nebraska, in the Congress, violently attacked the entire effort in Latin America as an unnecessary burden on the U.S. taxpayer which he described as "dollar diplomacy" and "economic pressure." The florid language exemplified at the same time the ever-present isolationist and antiwar sentiment, and the traditional condescending attitude of many persons in the United States toward Latin America in general. Senator Kenneth McKellar of Tennessee pulled no punches in answering in kind. Secretary Hull promptly responded with a clear statement defending the Good Neighbor Policy which began by saying "The unfair attack made on the good-neighbor policy by Senator Butler was a matter of general astonishment throughout the Western Hemisphere. It was imperative in our national interest that these charges be analyzed and answered—answered so completely as to leave no grounds for their reiteration. Senator McKellar has provided such an answer. With painstaking analysis he has demonstrated, I believe to the satisfaction of everybody, the inaccuracies, the fallacies, and the misstatements of Senator Butler's unfortunate allegations."[7]

The cultural relations program budget did not suffer from Butler's blast. In mid-August 1942, in an exchange of correspondence between Welles and Rockefeller, it had been agreed that the major portion of the cultural relations activities of the Coordinator's Office would be transferred to the Division of Cultural Relations of the Department, including in addition to exchange-of-persons projects, aid to cultural institutes, American schools, libraries, exchanges of books and art and music interchanges. This was the fundamental reason for the budget increase requested by the Division for fiscal year 1944. The congressional appropriation for the 1944 fiscal year endorsed and supported this plan.

This transfer of cultural programs from the Coordinator to the Division was effected in July 1943. The amount allotted to the Division from the appropriation "Cooperation with the American Republics" reached the new high of $1,596,871. This was distributed as follows: $60,000 for the Buenos Aires Convention; $305,000 for grants to leaders; $76,676 for professorial missions; $285,000 for Latin American student grants; $125,000 for training and education of vocational teachers and leaders; $75,000 for art and music exchanges; $250,000 for exchanges of books and other educational materials; and $420,195 for grants to American cultural institutes, libraries, and schools in Latin America. The total appropriation for the Division of Cultural Relations, including administrative costs, was $1,890,134.[8]

DISTRIBUTION OF U.S. PROGRAM FUNDS FISCAL YEAR 1945

EDUCATIONAL AND TECHNICAL EXCHANGE PROGRAM
UNDER BUENOS AIRES CONVENTION, PUBLIC LAW 76-63,
PUBLIC LAW 76-355, AND PRESIDENT'S EMERGENCY FUND



The Division was authorized to administer these funds either directly or by transfer to other departments or contract with private organizations. The arrangement involved an agreement to transfer administration of a large portion of the allotment for journalists to the Coordinator's Office. English teaching programs in Latin America became the primary responsibility of the Division. To avoid confusion in the operation of the cultural program in the field, especially with regard to the programs newly transferred to the Division, posts were instructed to send all reports and correspondence pertaining to the cultural program to the Department and to advise coordination committees and local cultural institutions of the transfer of functions. These developments required a series of major organizational changes in the division and functions of the various advisory subcommittees. They marked an important turning point in the conduct of the Department's cultural relations program with Latin America.

With the substantial increases in annual appropriations, the exchange program grew at a rapid pace from July 1, 1942, to July 30, 1945. During the 2 fiscal years prior to 1943, a total of only 10 professor grants had been awarded, all to U.S. professors. In the following 3 years 137 U.S. professors were sent to Latin American countries, increasing from 11 in fiscal year 1943 to 53 in fiscal year 1946. At the same time, 25 professors from Latin America visited the United States, the annual level increasing in these years from 5 in fiscal year 1943 to 9 in fiscal year 1946. Fifteen countries were represented. The major fields of the professor grantees, both to and from Latin America, were: English language and literature—55, Spanish language and literature—25, U.S. history—15, economics and business administration—13, mathematics—9, sociology—11, medicine and biological sciences—13, and art and music—18.[9]

During this same 3-year period, grants were awarded to 320 Latin American leaders and specialists and to 35 U.S. leaders. The Latin American leaders represented all of the other American republics. Those from the United States visited nine countries. The two groups together represented the following major fields: art and music—16, language and literature—77, economics and business administration—10, library science—16, law—17, education—37, journalism and radio—39, engineering—12, medicine and public health—34, public welfare—25, agriculture—23. The peak years were fiscal years 1943 and 1944, with 202 leader and specialist grantees from Latin America and 17 from the United States to Latin America during that period. In contrast, up to that time the number of leader grantees traveling in both directions totaled only 77.[10]

In fiscal years 1942 through 1945, the number of Latin American students enrolled in U.S. colleges and universities with full or partial grants from the Division is estimated at 876, and for the same period 32 U.S. graduate students received grants for study in Latin America.[11] The Latin American student grantees during the fiscal year 1945 alone totaled 315.[12] They studied in fields of practical interest to their own countries or the institutions they represented. The largest number were in medical and dental sciences, agriculture, social sciences, engineering, and natural sciences. Others studied in such fields as U.S. history and literature, English language teaching, journalism, economics, pedagogy and general education, education through radio, musical education for children, physical education, school administration and supervision of rural education, geography, dramatics, musicology, philosophy, mathematics, chemistry, geology, and housing and urbanization.

The statistics on teacher grants for this period were not systematically recorded. The Office of Education administered projects for both the Division and the Coordinator's Office. The emphasis was on training of language teachers. A modest estimate would be approximately 200 each way.[13]

In addition, in the period after 1943, for example, with the transfer to the Division of exchange-of-persons programs previously administered by the Coordinator's Office and the authority given to the Division at that time to contract projects with private institutions, a number of persons in the various categories of exchanges benefited from grants provided indirectly through contract agencies. These individuals were not included in the grantee statistics prepared by the Division. For fiscal years 1943 through 1946, the total was upwards of 1,300 Latin American grantees and 300 U.S. grantees. Along with Department grants a considerable number of exchanges facilitated by the Division included groups funded entirely under other U.S. Government agency or other auspices.

As an illustration of the increased size and scope of the officially funded exchange-of-persons programs, from mid-1942 to mid-1943 the number of grantees to and from the Latin American countries totaled 358, and from mid-1943 to mid-1944 the total was 437.[14] By mid-1944 the Division was engaged in an extensive worldwide program, and the exchanges of persons between the United States and Latin American countries in fiscal year 1944 (July 1, 1943–June 30, 1944) were part of a total of over 600 exchanges including China, at that point a close second to Latin America in the total number of exchanges; and several countries in the Near East and North Africa, as noted earlier.

As the cultural exchange program with the Latin American countries grew and the Division's coordinating role became more important during the years 1942–1945, the lines of activity of the Division, the Coordinator's Office, and the other Government agencies under the Interdepartmental Committee program were more clearly defined. At the same time, guidelines evolved governing new types of program arrangements the Division was prepared to support financially in cooperation with institutions and organizations in the United States and Latin America. The basic criteria and policies were those that had been developed since the beginning of the program. After the transfer to the Department of the bulk of the Coordinator's cultural activities, the character of these activities underwent only minor changes.

In the formulation of policy, the General Advisory Committee continued to play a central role throughout the war years. The basic feature of the entire enterprise was the continuing consultation with the advisory committees from the public sector, and through the convening of national conferences with representatives of educational and professional organizations, university and college officials, and private groups engaged in international exchange activities. The Congress, of course, played a key role, as it made clear its requirements at the annual appropriations hearings. Policies were formulated as a joint enterprise in which each of these elements made a contribution to the course of action followed. Coordination of programs within the Government, with the Department of State as the focal point, was accomplished to a remarkable degree through the mechanism of the Interdepartmental Committee. Through these mechanisms the cultural relations policies of the Division were continuously under review.

Under the expanded program the Department provided sharper guidelines to its posts in Latin America for the nomination of leader grantees, focusing on priority interests. It was emphasized that "the choice of persons should gravitate toward those whose trips might directly contribute to the economic and political phase of the war or whose effect on public opinion might be immediate while at the same time serving the long-term purposes of the program." For the first time the posts were instructed to submit nominations in designated categories closely identifiable with the war effort: persons of influence in education, the professions, arts and sciences; in journalism, radio, and motion pictures; and in rural and urban welfare, constructively interested in the betterment of the people.[15]

The Division made clear to the Congress and the public its policy to allow entire freedom to these invited guests for observation in the United States, and complete freedom of speech to tell the truth as they saw it in their reports on their visits. The rationale was that the Latin American intellectual leaders carried away friendly impressions of the United States and were serving to give their fellow countrymen a more complete and comprehensive picture of the United States, the war effort, and the determination to achieve complete victory. The visits to the United States by journalists, publishers, radio commentators, and motion picture operators were designed to provide similar opportunities to persons who through these mass media at home could reach not only the leaders at the top but the larger reading and listening public.

In the case of students, policies were constantly under the spotlight, especially with regard to selection and counseling, which became more complex as more projects were encouraged through a variety of jointly funded arrangements with universities, colleges, and private agencies in the United States.

The language problem, although it was not insurmountable for the purposes of carrying out effective programs, was a continuing obstacle in every type of person-to-person exchange. Increasing attention was given to bringing teachers of English from the Latin American countries for special training, improving English language programs at cultural institutes in Latin America, and strengthening English language training centers for Latin American student grantees in the United States.

The sending of U.S. visiting professors to Latin American universities was based on expressions of interest initiated by the Latin American universities themselves, a policy which the Division emphasized to the U.S. overseas posts. The basic criteria as set forth in instructions to the posts stated that "it would be unwise to propose the sending of professors unless there is an active interest in the institution for their services"; that "the professorial missions should be limited strictly to institutions of higher learning, that is, universities, institutions or other centers beyond the secondary school level. There is no limitation, however, as to the field of activity of the professors"; and that "preference will be given to institutions that are prepared to offer some financial cooperation, either through the payment of partial salary or local living expenses." [16] Prior to

1944, because of war demands, it was almost impossible to secure U.S. professors for these missions in technical and scientific subjects. This problem was eased considerably immediately after the war. In other subjects the situation was not so difficult.

The program that grew most rapidly during the entire period was the Latin American student program under the Travel and Maintenance Program.[17] As defined by the Division the fundamental purpose of this program was to reach out to the masses of the people and make it possible for young people from all social classes, not merely the wealthy, to come to the United States for training and education. This program also made it possible to increase the number of students coming from the more distant countries, because travel costs were a heavier burden. The proportion of students from South America increased from 34 to 43 percent of the total.

The most notable feature of this program was the growing effort to make it a cooperative effort. During the years 1942–1945 the number of grants jointly financed by Latin American governments increased. The growing cooperative emphasis in the United States saw a dramatic increase in the number of partial scholarships offered by universities, colleges, foundations, and other organizations, which were matched by travel and maintenance grants provided by the Division. During the 1942–43 academic year, for example, the Institute of International Education received 526 firm offers of scholarships for students from Latin American countries. Most of them covered tuition, although some included board and room as well.

The student grantees from Latin American countries were placed at universities and colleges across the country by the Institute of International Education under an administrative grant from the Division. Most of the Department grants were for full or partial maintenance, or travel alone. The matching costs, after the student's personal resources were considered, were provided by grants from universities, civic and fraternal organizations, foundations, private firms, international houses, professional organizations, and various Latin American governments. In 1945 these placements by the Institute represented about one-sixth of the estimated total of 3,000 Latin American students in the United States at that time. Placements for students partially funded by the Division were made by the Institute either through grants in a specific field, provided to match a request from a specific university or college offering tuition and other partial benefits, or in combination with partial scholarships from the various sources indicated. For example, under the arrangement for matching groups of university grants in specific fields, in 1942 the Division provided grants to support 6 postgraduate agricultural students at Iowa State College and 6 students of comparative law at the University of Michigan. Similar examples in 1943 were the placement of 6 students of climatology at Iowa State College, 3 students of penology at Indiana University, and 20 students in wood technology and forestry at the University of Michigan. Grants from private foundations were stretched in number by the inputs from the Division's Travel and Maintenance Grant Program.

Foundation grants for Latin American students during the period 1942 to 1945 included the following: The Columbian Foundation in San Francisco provided $40,000 for 2 years of study in agriculture at the Davis campus of the University of California. The Kellogg Foundation provided $20,000 for fellowships of the Pan American Congress of Ophthalmology, the expenses for 35 graduate students of engineering from Chile to spend a term at the University of Michigan, and 20 grants in the field of dentistry also at the University of Michigan. The Guggenheim Foundation offered 15 fellowships annually to graduate students from seven countries. The Bolivarian Society in New York sponsored 26 students for whom the governments of the six Bolivarian countries (Bolivia, Colombia, Ecuador, Panama, Peru, and Venezuela) provided travel, U.S. universities provided tuition, and the Division provided the maintenance costs. Other supporting grants came from the Dazian Foundation and the Mayo Foundation for medical education and research.

Grants from civic and fraternal organizations included those from the State Federation of Women's Clubs of Delaware, Iowa, Kentucky, Massachusetts, Missouri, New Jersey, Ohio, Virginia, West Virginia, and Wyoming; the International Association of Altrusa Clubs; the Order of the Moose, Morgantown, West Virginia; Pilot Club International; Quota Club International; and Rotary International. Some of the sororities which provided grants to students were Delta Gamma, Alpha Gamma Delta, and Gamma Phi. Fellowships were awarded by the International Houses at Berkeley and Chicago. Professional organizations providing scholarships included the American Home Economics Association and the Southern Committee for the Advancement of Portuguese Teaching. Grants from private firms included those from the *Reader's Digest* for

Latin American doctors and nurses; *Mademoiselle* magazine; the Freeport Sulphur Company; S. J. Groves and Sons Inc.; Johnson, Jones, and Piper Inc.; and the annual Pan American Airways grants.

In 1942 the Peruvian Government set aside $50,000 for maintenance and tuition for scholarships to Peruvian students funded jointly with the Division. Ten scholarships were awarded and the students began their studies that year. Similar programs were initiated that year at the request of the Governments of Panama and Ecuador. Although the general policy of the Division was to provide grants only to graduate students, in the case of the Ecuadorean grants the awards were to undergraduate students of petroleum engineering to enable them to obtain the B.S. degree at Pennsylvania State College and Louisiana State University. Similar cooperative projects included nine grants from the Chilean Development Corporation, and six grants from the Brazilian National Service of Industrial Apprenticeships.

With the transfer of cultural activities from the Coordinator's Office in 1943, along with congressional appropriations to carry them out, the cultural exchange activities for which the Division was responsible doubled in number.[18] In the student category, the Division now assumed responsibility for several large technical training projects for Latin Americans that had been developed as a part of the Coordinator's program. Since the practical training under these programs was in industry, Government agencies, and schools of engineering and other centers where the best technical training could be provided, some of these exchanges were gradually integrated into Government agency programs under the Interdepartmental Committee framework.

Another project transferred to the Division was one referred to as "student tours." Under this project, graduating classes of Latin American universities in such fields as engineering, medicine, and commerce were invited for 2- to 3-month group visits. The visits were jointly funded: the travel costs were provided by the students and costs in the United States were provided by the Division.

Taking on these new student projects was not an entirely new experience for the Division. Although awards for graduate study under the Department-sponsored program were generally for a full year of academic study at a university, each year a number of grants were awarded to students already in the United States to enable them to complete their studies; others were awarded grants for practical field work during the summer; and grants were given to a few outstanding Latin American graduates of U.S. universities to enable them to spend about 3 months visiting centers in the United States for observation of professional work.

Other exchange-of-persons programs transferred to the Department included a successfully initiated program for sending small missions of U.S. vocational training experts to Latin America and bringing vocational teachers and leaders to the United States for training and observation of U.S. methods. Also transferred were programs for exchanges in art, including art exhibits and music presentations. In view of the constant propaganda campaign carried on by Axis sympathizers decrying the lack of culture in the United States, the music program had friendly support in Congress, but with a very clearly expressed caveat that the activities should be taken to the masses, not to a select group of people who could read and travel and learn of these things for themselves.

Other major programs transferred from the Coordinator's Office to the Department were the exchange of books and periodicals, book translations, grants to binational cultural institutes in Latin America, support for U.S. libraries, English teaching involving exchange of persons and materials, and assistance to American-sponsored schools. Also, new responsibilities in the overseas motion picture program and radio broadcasting were transferred. Most of these activities were carried out by private agencies through transfer of U.S. Government funds to them by contract, and this continued to be the case under the Division.

The exchange of books and periodicals, and book translations, followed the lines established by the Coordinator's Office in the early 1940's. Under that program the translations ranged from books about the United States in general to books of a very practical applied nature. Of the former, before the program started there was not a single good history of the United States in Spanish or Portuguese. By 1941 this situation had been partially corrected with the Spanish translation of *The American Way of Life* by Faulkner, Kepner, and Bartlett. A good example of the publications in practical fields, such as public health, was a book by the Children's Bureau on infant care, said to have had a larger circulation in the United States than any book except the Bible, which was translated in editions of 10,000 to 20,000 for Latin American distribution.[19]

From the beginning the books and periodical exchanges were a remarkable illustration of Government-private cooperation both in the United States and in Latin America. In addition to carrying out its role in policy development, coordination, and facilitative services to assure shipments from source to destination without undue delay, the Division worked closely with publishers, universities, professional organizations, private foundations, and other Government agencies. After Pearl Harbor, in cooperation with the war agencies active in the information field, it was soon engaged in a worldwide traffic in books, periodicals, and educational materials, of which the activity with Latin America was only a part.

Working together in the United States were the Department of State, Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs, Library of Congress, several other U.S. Government agencies, American Library Association, American Council of Learned Societies, Science Service, professional organizations, several private foundations, university presses, and a number of U.S. book companies. In the Latin American countries the principal cooperating links, in an ever-growing network in the interchange of ideas and information over the years, were the U.S. missions, especially through the work of the cultural relations officer at each of them; libraries; cultural institutes; universities and research centers; schools, foreign offices and ministries of education; and publishers.

Few libraries in the other American republics, prior to 1942, had developed significant collections of U.S. books in English. In 1942 the Coordinator's Office extended a grant-in-aid of $140,000 to the American Library Association for the distribution of books in English to representative libraries in the Latin American countries, a project extended by additional grants from the Department of State. The American Library Association compiled a select list of 500 libraries in the area, including public reading rooms, reference rooms of medical and engineering centers, and university and school libraries. To each of these a quota of funds was assigned for books from titles selected by the libraries. By the close of 1943 orders had been received from over 400 libraries, and many thousands of publications had been shipped to them.

The program of book translations had been initiated by the Coordinator's Office through the transfer of funds to the American Council of Learned Societies. When this program was transferred to the Department, the Council had written contracts for the translation of 116 books. By the close of 1943, 57 of these books had been published and others were coming off the press each month. They included a wide range of fields, from literary classics to technical works, and included bibliographies and reference works. The Government also supported the private book trade which increased substantially as noted in an earlier chapter.

Since wartime shipping difficulties had prevented delivery of most U.S. scientific and scholarly journals to foreign subscribers, the Office of War Information arranged for the editing, printing on air-mail weight paper, and mailing once or twice monthly of *Science News Letters* in 11 scientific fields. By the end of 1943 the Department of State was assisting in their distribution to 69 foreign countries including those in Latin America. Each letter was edited by the staff of a recognized professional organization. Provided free by Science Service, a private nonprofit agency, beginning in the fall of 1943 a similar information bulletin, *Science Summary Service*, was distributed widely throughout Latin America by the Department.

Deserving of special mention as an example of the close cooperative relations which the Division had established with the private sector during these years was the action taken in cooperation with the National Library of Peru when it was destroyed by fire on May 11, 1943. The Department wanted to make a contribution which would stand as a permanent evidence of the friendly relations between the two countries. Secretary Hull therefore appointed a committee to mobilize public and private assistance in the United States. Three members of this committee were sent by air to Peru on travel grants under the exchange program to consult with Peruvian officials, and as a result of their recommendations the following assistance was extended: Four officials of the National Library of Peru, including the architect and three librarians, were awarded grants with the cooperation of the American Library Association for consultation and visits to U.S. libraries. Five U.S. librarians were sent by other Government agencies and private foundations, notably the Guggenheim Foundation, to organize a special library school for 35 members of the Lima staff, and the Public Library of Rochester, New York, awarded an internship to the honor graduate of this school providing all expenses in the United States to match the travel costs provided by the Peruvian Government. The American Library Association sent the Assistant Director of the University of Havana library to provide instruction in cataloging, and some 2,000 books and bound periodicals were donated by U.S. publishers, universities, and librarians in response to an appeal by the American Library Association. Two motion pictures on the operation of libraries in the United States were donated by the public libraries of Wichita, Kansas, and Ventura, California. Several U.S. universities with collections of historical documents on Peru prepared and presented microfilms to the National Library, while the Library of Congress prepared photostatic copies of important Peruvian colonial manuscripts in the library and sent them as a gift to Peru. The Smithsonian Institution sent a Spanish-speaking geographer to advise on the reorganization of the Lima Geographical Society which had been housed in the National Library, and the Carnegie Endowment sent a collection of books on geography to rebuild its collection. The Department of State set aside $20,000 from its cultural relations budget for the purchase of books not included in the various donations from other sources. The total cost of this assistance exceeded $100,000, which was evenly divided between Government and private agencies.[20]

All of these programs were coordinated by the Department of State, with the close guidance and collaboration of the General Advisory Committee and the Government agencies represented on the Interdepartmental Committee on Scientific and Cultural Cooperation. It was a work of many hands. The accelerated efforts during the war years were an impressive challenge for the future since they were only a pioneering beginning.

Notes

CHAPTER X

1. "Budget Requests for Fiscal Year 1942–1943 Through the Interdepartmental Committee on Cooperation with the American Republics," transmitted under memorandum from Thomson to Duggan, May 16, 1941. NA, RG 59, WHB, Box 55.
2. *House Hearings, Department of State Appropriation Bill for 1943* [hereinafter cited as *House Hearings (year)*] (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1942), pp. 268, 398.
3. *Ibid.*
4. Dept. circular instruction to diplomatic and consular posts in Latin America, Aug. 4, 1942, NA, RG 59, 810.42711/8009A; *House Hearings, 1944*, p. 210.
5. "Budget Requests for Fiscal Year 1942–1943 . . ." *op. cit.*; "Projects Proposed by the Division of Cultural Relations—1943 Fiscal Year," NA, RG 59, WHB, Box 57.
6. Circular instruction, Dec. 19, 1942, NA, RG 59, 810.42711 S.E./3119A. The suspension took effect as of Dec. 29. Dept. of State Press Release 608, Dec. 29, 1942.
7. "Expenditures and Commitments by the United States Government in or for Latin America." Report by the Honorable Hugh Butler . . . and Reply . . . by the Honorable Kenneth McKellar . . . (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1943), pp. 36, 41, 42, 54, 82, 83, 96, 169, 170.
8. *House Hearings, 1944*, pp. 7–8, 39–46, 321–342; circular instruction, Sept. 4, 1943, NA, RG 59, 810.42711/1097A; *House Hearings, 1945*, p. 189. The original request to Congress for FY 1944 was $2,454,260, *House Hearings, 1944*, p. 321.
9. "Exchange of Professors in the Western Hemisphere under the Program of the Department of State, July 1, 1940 to June 30, 1948—Statistical

Summaries." Division of International Exchange of Persons, Dept. of State, 1948, mimeographed copy in CU/H; J. Manuel Espinosa, "Exchange of Professors between the United States and the Other American Republics," *Department of State Bulletin*, XV (July 21, 1946), pp. 89–93.

10. "Exchange of Specialists and Distinguished Leaders in the Western Hemisphere under the Program of the Department of State—Statistical Summaries," Division of International Exchange of Persons, Dept. of State, 1948, mimeographed copy in CU/H.

11. Lewis Allbee, *Education as an Implement of U.S. Foreign Policy (1938–1948)* (Ann Arbor, Mich.: Edwards Brothers, Inc., 1948), pp. 52, 139.

12. *House Hearings, 1947*, p. 475.

13. For a partial listing see Allbee, *op cit.*, p. 52.

14. *From Latin America:*	*1942–43*	*1943–44*
Leaders	94 (education, professions, arts and sciences—55; journalism, radio, motion pictures—14; urban and rural welfare—25)	85
Visiting professors	5	7
English teachers	11	31
Specialized and technical personnel	6	0
Students under Buenos Aires Convention	24	27
Students under travel and maintenance grant program	177	263
	317	413
To Latin America:		
Leaders	13 (including 5 book publishers)	6
Visiting professors	8	18
Language teacher	1	0
Students under Buenos Aires Convention	10	0
Students under travel and maintenance grant program	9	0
	41	24

Source: *Report of the Division of Cultural Relations*, June 1943, pp. 1–2, and *Report of the Science, Education and Art Division*, May–June 1944, p. 2.

15. Circular instructions from the Dept. to diplomatic and consular posts in Latin America, Aug. 4 and Aug. 15, 1942, NA, RG 59, 810.42711/8009A and/8009A. supp.; copies in CU/H. From the beginning the Division had encouraged academic exchanges in journalism, in which the Columbia Univ. School of Journalism was a pioneer, and projects to honor distinguished Latin American journalists sponsored by private U.S. organizations. After 1940 the Coordinator's Office initiated a program of this

type with the Department role being limited to facilitating the U.S. visits. Early in 1941 the Carnegie Endowment had sponsored a U.S. group to visit various Latin American countries to increase their knowledge of Latin America. The Coordinator's Office brought a group of 7 Chilean journalists to the United States in February 1941. By 1944 the Coordinator had brought 11 groups, varying from 3 to 12 in each party, representing all of the Latin American countries, for 6–8 week visits, sponsored by the National Press Club and facilitated by the Division. Several U.S. groups visited Latin American countries under similar arrangements. In considering grants to Latin American and U.S. journalists for short visits, the Division's initial position was that this would be viewed as engaging in propaganda, and that such exchanges should be carried out under private auspices. By fiscal year 1943 the Division had revised its earlier policy.

16. Circular instruction, Oct. 24, 1942, NA RG 59, 810.42711/10706A; copy in CU/H.
17. The following paragraphs on program developments for the period under review, unless otherwise indicated, are based largely on the *Report of the Division of Cultural Relations*, published monthly and bimonthly by the Division of Cultural Relations, 1941–1943, and its successors, the monthly and bimonthly *Report of the Science, Education and Art Division*, *Report of the Division of Cultural Cooperation*, 1944, *The Record*, 1945–1946; and the annual *House Hearings, Department of State Appropriation Bill*, 1942–1947. See also, Haldore Hanson, *The Cultural-Cooperation Program, 1938–1943* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1944).
18. The discussion immediately following is based on the "Minutes of the General Advisory Committee," 1940–1944, NA, RG 353, SCC, Boxes 1 and 29, and the references contained in note 17, for the period 1942–1945.
19. *Ibid.*; "A Summary of the Program of the Department of State for Cultural Cooperation with the Other American Republics," Feb. 1945, and "Cooperation with Private Agencies," Jan. 1944, typed memoranda, CU/H.
20. "A Summary of the Program of the Department of State for Cultural Cooperation with the Other American Republics," *op. cit.*, pp. 10–12; Hanson, *op. cit.*, pp. 27–28.

CHAPTER XI

New Directions

With the rapid growth of the program operations of the Cultural Division during the war, its offices were moved in the early summer of 1942 to the "Grant building," on the corner of 17th and F Streets across from "Old State," which provided ampler quarters. The Division occupied this three-floor frame building until mid-1947. The closely knit group of Latin American experts that represented the staff up to that time now became one segment of a globally oriented Division. After the transfer to the Division of most of the cultural relations programs of the Coordinator's Office in 1943, the Grant building housed nearly a dozen separate units, each so busily engaged that some of them had little if any day-to-day contact with each other. There was the Latin American section, the China section, the American schools section, the binational centers and libraries section, the radio and motion pictures section, and several others. Following the initial recruitment policy in staffing the cultural program operations, through the mid-1940's the new officers were nearly all from the academic community, which gave the Division its own unique character within the State Department establishment.

The overriding demands of the war and the postwar period necessitated frequent changes and experiments in many areas of the Department, including cultural relations,[1] and the Division of Cultural Relations underwent a number of organizational changes during that period that foreshadowed new directions various segments of the program were to take in the years that followed. The program began in July 1938 with a staff of two officers, Cherrington and Pattee, and two secretaries. But Congress had authorized a staff of eight persons and all the positions were filled by October 1939. The small office was organized on a broad functional basis, with the Chief and Assistant Chief, two senior program officers, one in charge of exchange of persons and the other responsible for motion picture activities and various across the board functions, two junior program officers, and clerical staff, including a messenger. By November 1941 the staff had increased to a total of 25, by October 1942 to 53, and by October 1943 to 76. Funds transferred from the Office of the

Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs and from the President's Emergency Fund made possible the rapid expansion of programs and personnel. In January 1944 the Division of Cultural Relations was reorganized into two divisions: the Science, Education and Art Division with a staff of 66 persons, including 35 officers, and the Motion Picture and Radio Division with a staff of 31 persons, including 13 officers. Under another major reorganization in the summer and fall of 1944, the two divisions became the Division of Cultural Cooperation with a staff of 71, including 40 officers, and the Division of International Information with a staff of 43, including 19 officers.

Prior to 1945 the internal organization reflected both a functional and a geographical approach with one or the other dominating the administrative pattern at different times. The cultural division had the direct responsibility for the work of the cultural relations officers overseas during this period. The two major changes in internal organization in 1944, referred to above, were effected by Departmental orders of January 15, July 1, and September 1 of that year. Under the first of these reorganizations, an Office of Public Information was created, consisting of five divisions, including two divisions which represented the traditional cultural relations program with changes in title and functions, the Science, Education, and Art Division, replacing the Division of Cultural Relations, and the new Motion Picture and Radio Division. The three other divisions administered under the same office were the Division of Current Information, the Division of Research and Publication, and the Central Translating Division. The Departmental order of January 15 stated: "For the purpose of assuring full understanding of the foreign policy and relations of the United States, within this country and in other countries, there is hereby created an Office of Public Information which shall have responsibility, under the general direction of the Assistant Secretary, Mr. [G. Howland] Shaw, for the public information program and policy of the Department of State." This was an administrative change which did not affect the cultural relations operations. Major decisionmaking remained largely in the hands of functional specialists. A significant change was the conceptualization reflected in this new clustering of "public information" activities. With the second 1944 reorganization, amended in the fall of 1944, the recently created Motion Picture and Radio Division became the International Information Division. Responsibility for the exchange of books and educational materials, and assistance to cultural centers, libraries, and American-sponsored schools abroad, with the exchange-of-persons program, were placed in the newly designated Division of Cultural Cooperation.

In the fall of 1944 the Division of Cultural Cooperation was internally reorganized on a geographic basis. In January it had been reorganized into three branches, concerned with exchange of persons, exchange of materials, and program and analysis. Now it was divided into four branches: Western Hemisphere, Europe, Near East, and Far East with each branch responsible for all activities in and with its geographic area. Under the new plan the director of the Division had a set of advisers on the following cultural resources in the United States: personnel for staffing cultural officer posts, publications, art and music, humanities and social sciences, and natural sciences and technology. These advisers were available to serve the assistant chiefs who directed the geographical area programs. From January until late August 1945, the program was under the leadership of Archibald MacLeish, who occupied the newly created post of Assistant Secretary of State for Public and Cultural Relations.

Meanwhile, on February 21, 1944, the Department sent to the President for submission to Congress draft legislation "to extend the Good Neighbor principle" beyond the Latin American countries, seeking permanent legislation for a worldwide exchange program patterned on the program with the Latin American countries, already the successful model for programs initiated with China and countries in the Middle East during the war. The proposed legislation had been previously discussed with the chairmen of the foreign affairs committees in Congress and approved by the Bureau of the Budget. This legislation, which was an amendment to Public Law 355 of August 9, 1939, the authorization for the Latin American program, was submitted to Congress by the President with a message of February 29, 1944.[2] But bills were to be presented in the Congress year after year, first as amendments and then as separate legislation, without success.

The various reorganizations in the Department, reflecting the requirements of the changing world scene, anticipated the pattern expected in the legislation that would authorize a worldwide program, first introduced by Congressman Sol Bloom of New York in the fall of 1945, subsequently by Congressman Karl E. Mundt, of South Dakota, and eventually to come to fruition in 1948 with the passage of the Smith-Mundt Act.[3] The mid-1940's saw the demise of the General Advisory Committee, the public body which had worked hand in hand with the Department as cultural policy was shaped in the earlier years and several years elapsed before it was replaced with a similar body under the Smith-Mundt Act.

The year 1945 was a major turning point in the history of the program. On August 31 of that year President Truman transferred to the State Department many of the mass media functions of the two wartime propaganda agencies, the Office of War Information and the Office of [the Coordinator of] Inter-American Affairs. He stated: "The nature of present-day foreign relations makes it essential for the United States to maintain informational activities abroad as an integral part of the conduct of foreign affairs." [4] Some 2 weeks later William Benton, who had just been appointed Assistant Secretary of State in charge of Public Affairs, was given the formidable task of supervising the Office of International Information and Cultural Affairs and the Interim International Information Service, working on the immediate problems of transition involving the dismantling of the massive wartime information network and the accompanying reassignment and reduction in force of its thousands of overseas operators, and developing a long-range plan for the Department in this area. The direction of the program for the next 7 years was implicit in Assistant Secretary Benton's remarks to the press following this designation of responsibilities. He said: "We must strive to interpret ourselves abroad through a program of education and of cultural exchange . . . We must seek clarification and avoid propaganda. Further, here at home we must strive for a better understanding of the other peoples of the world, with whom we want to live in peace and cannot live in peace unless we can achieve mutual understanding" [5] He then stated his task in the following order of priority: "The people of the United States, through their government make direct contact with other peoples in two major ways. The first is through an international information program. The second is a program of technical and educational cooperation." [6] By January 1946 the Office of International Information and Cultural Affairs (OIC) was fully organized and in operation.[7] In 1947 it became the Office of Information and Educational Exchange (OIE).[8] To fund the worldwide information program that had been thrust into the lap of the Department, Benton fought vigorously for legislation and the necessary dollar funds. During the battle over legislative authorization for a worldwide peacetime program, appropriations for the already authorized exchange programs decreased drastically, and in 1948 dropped to their lowest postwar level.

Meanwhile, the Fulbright Act, introduced by Senator J. William Fulbright of Arkansas, was quietly passed on August 1, 1946 (Public Law 584, 79th Congress), to promote international understanding through a binationally administered program of academic exchanges with countries ravaged during the war. As an amendment to the Surplus Property Act of 1944, the law specified that foreign currencies accruing from the sale of U.S. war surplus goods left in various countries after the war could be used for the exchange of students, professors, and teachers with the United States. An appealing humanitarian scheme, it reflected the climate immediately following the war when the world was entering what appeared to be an era of peace, and it won universal support. But during the months that followed, East-West tensions had mounted. It was in this atmosphere that congressional authorization for the extension of the educational and cultural relations program worldwide was eventually accomplished with the passage of the "United States Information and Educational Exchange Act of 1948" (the Smith-Mundt Act, Public Law 402, 80th Congress), approved on January 27, 1948. The "cold war" was the overriding factor in the debates surrounding the enactment of the new legislation.

As passed in the House under the sponsorship of Congressman Mundt, the bill would have mingled the cultural program with that of information in one office under one Assistant Secretary of State. This brought sharp criticism from educational and cultural leaders across the country, who viewed these developments as an erosion of cultural values under the stress of the times, threatening the basic concepts of the program. They won support in the Senate, under the sponsorship of Senator H. Alexander Smith, of New Jersey, to revise the bill clearly indicating a fundamental difference between the two and providing for their separation administratively. But this issue was not the central concern of Congress at that time. While the proposed legislation was being debated in Congress, the Soviet Union embarked on a vitriolic anti-U.S. propaganda campaign which provided persuasive arguments in Congress for passing the legislation. The debate was to continue over the years as to whether "educational and cultural exchange" and the "information media" programs should be closely commingled or completely separated.[9]

The passage of the Smith-Mundt Act was a landmark in the history of the program. During the first year and a half after its passage, however, the funds appropriated were not adequate for the task; in fact no funds were appropriated until fiscal year 1950 for the exchange of persons with the Eastern Hemisphere. The budget levels and the respective merits of the information and cultural programs under the Act were debated extensively in Congress. It was the intensification of Soviet propaganda and aggression, which was becoming a global danger to U.S. security and foreign policy, that finally stimulated Congress to appropriate funds for the worldwide program under the Act, especially for the information program to support a hard-hitting propaganda campaign in response to that of the Soviets. In the ensuing years budgets authorized for the total program were to increase in volume. With regard to the cultural program, the language of the new legislation crystallized the fundamental policies that had guided its operation from the beginning: the principles of reciprocity, mutuality, full use of private agencies, and the use of advisers from the private sector. The Act declared that its objectives were "to enable the Government of the United States to promote a better understanding of the United States in other countries, and to increase mutual understanding between the people of the United States and the people of other countries." It stated that in carrying out the exchange programs the Secretary should "wherever possible provide these interchanges by using the services of existing reputable agencies which are successfully engaged in such activity."

Under the terms of the Act the program was organized into two separate offices, the Office of International Information (OII) and the Office of Educational Exchange (OEX) under the Assistant Secretary for Public Affairs. Of the five functional divisions of the previous organizational structure, the Division of International Exchange of Persons and the Division of Libraries and Institutes were placed under OEX, and OII was assigned Press and Publications, Broadcasting, and Motion Pictures. The Act called for two separate advisory commissions, one on educational exchange and one on information, each appointed by the President to formulate and recommend to the Secretary of State policies and programs for carrying out the Act. It was specifically stated that these commissions "shall have no authority over the Board of Foreign Scholarships or the program" created by the Fulbright Act. The U.S. Advisory Commission on Educational Exchange was never to play the same central program policy role performed by the earlier General Advisory Committee. However, in the decade following the passage of the Smith-Mundt Act it played a major role in helping the Department make important policy decisions on a number of new postwar issues and problems affecting the program.[10]

In the various reorganizations between 1944 and 1948, along with the five functional divisions, five separate geographic area divisions were set up for coordination with the field. The latter were developed primarily to strengthen the administrative support activities for the growing international information side of the program. Beginning on July 1, 1946, overseas officers assigned to supervise and carry out the responsibilities of both the information and educational and cultural exchange programs were given the title "public affairs officer." Most of them had media training and experience. A few of the cultural officers were redesignated as public affairs officers, assistant public affairs officers, or information officers. In the administrative nomenclature of the program, for a brief period the overseas officers responsible for educational and cultural relations activities carried one of these designations. But the various cultural officers of established professional status continued to be recognized as cultural officers or Cultural Attachés in the circles in which they moved, and by the late 1940's these designations were officially restored. The overseas operation in which all served was entitled the United States Information Service (USIS).[11]

At this juncture in the history of the program, the period of uncertain peace between the end of World War II and the beginning of the East-West tension which was to dominate the international scene for the next two decades, political officers in the Department generally viewed both the cultural and information programs as marginal to the main stream of foreign policy. A confidential Department memorandum of January 1948, prepared by a senior officer in the Office of American Republic Affairs for higher political officers in the Department, referring to U.S. diplomatic relations with Argentina, stated, for example: "Our relations with Argentina in the near future will depend on the attitude of the Government and the trend of our political dealings and not to any appreciable degree on our information or cultural activities." The memorandum went on to say, "A cultural program for culture's sake should not give us any great concern for the moment."[12]

The U.S. Advisory Commission on Educational Exchange, in its report to Congress on the Department's exchange program in 1949, independently made the following remarks on this same general theme:

> "There is a widespread impression that educational exchange activities can accomplish only long-range results. This is incorrect; their effect is both immediate and long-range. The great majority of exchanges involve adults in positions of active leadership—professors, specialists, technicians engaged in research, mature leaders in important fields such as journalism and the professions, leaders of labor organizations, and others whose impact upon the attitude of their respective countries will be immediate as well as long continued. Further, the very initiation of an exchange project in a given country has an immediate influence in that country since it indicates American intent to cooperate in a positive manner . . . Through enactment of the United States Information and Educational Exchange Act of 1948 (Public Law 402) on January 27, 1948, the Congress carefully and deliberately determined that a program of educational exchange shall become an essential part of the conduct of the Nation's foreign affairs. This basic policy has thus been established."[13]

During the debates in Congress in 1946 and 1947 preceding the passage of the Smith-Mundt Act, the Latin American exchange program continued to be funded at approximately the same modest level each year, as authorized in 1939 under Public Law 355. The extension of the program to other areas of the world was still in the planning stage. This provided some breathing space for the Department's Division of International Exchange of Persons to reappraise its total program effort to date, and to restate its concepts and basic program policies in the framework of the challenges and demands not only in Latin America but increasingly in the war-torn countries of Europe, the Middle East, and Asia. During this period a statement of such policies was prepared and circulated among appropriate offices in the Department. Considerable emphasis was placed on the need for a much larger effort to encourage, facilitate, extend, and supplement the international cultural activities of private individuals and organizations in the United States.[14] This need was greater than ever before because of the surge of private U.S. interest and support in the reconstruction of educational and cultural life in the countries that had suffered the ravages of the war. Two years after the passage of the Smith-Mundt Act, the Department issued a consolidated statement of policies governing its official exchange-of-persons program. (See Appendix IV.)

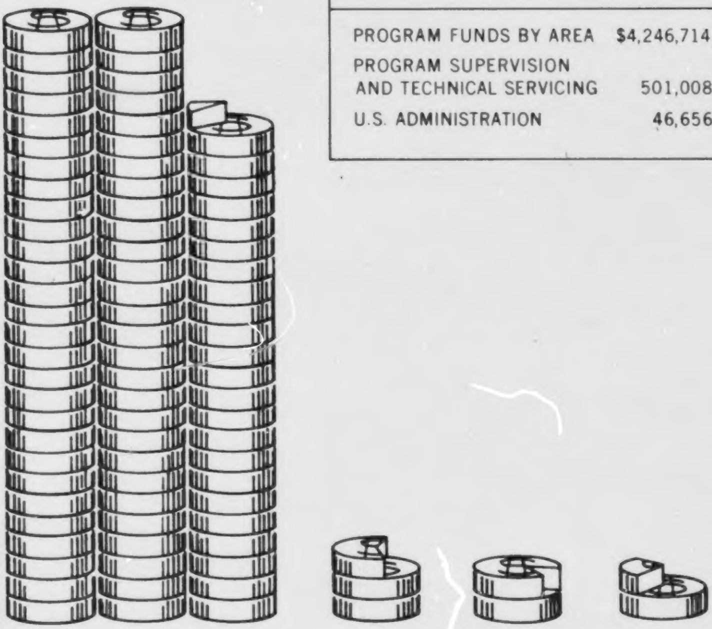
In the distribution of U.S. funds for Latin America in 1947, from the amount appropriated for the programs of the Department and the 25 Federal agencies that were members of the Interdepartmental Committee on Scientific and Cultural Cooperation, nearly two-thirds were allocated to Federal agencies for exchange of scientific personnel and technical training; the remaining one-third was more or less equally divided between the Division of Institutes and Libraries of OEX for libraries, cultural centers, American-sponsored schools, book exchanges and exhibits, and the Division of International Exchange of Persons of OEX for the exchange of 352 leaders, professors, teachers, and students, and related services. In 1948 and 1949 the allocation for exchange of persons remained at approximately the same level.

In the 1950 fiscal year, for the first time dollar funds were appropriated under the Smith-Mundt Act for the exchange program worldwide. That year a total of approximately $15.5 million was appropriated for international educational and cultural exchange programs. The amount allocated for the Latin American exchange-of-persons program was decreased in fiscal year 1950. The adjustment downward was to help initiate modest programs under

DISTRIBUTION OF U.S. PROGRAM FUNDS FISCAL YEAR 1948

EDUCATIONAL AND TECHNICAL EXCHANGE PROGRAM
UNDER PUBLIC LAW 80-402

TOTAL U.S. EXPENDITURE - FISCAL YEAR 1948	**$4,794,378**
PROGRAM FUNDS BY AREA	$4,246,714
PROGRAM SUPERVISION AND TECHNICAL SERVICING	501,008
U.S. ADMINISTRATION	46,656



From TRADING IDEAS WITH THE WORLD, Report of the U.S. Advisory Commission on Educational Exchange, March 31, 1949.

the Smith-Mundt Act in countries outside the Western Hemisphere, and to increase financial support for libraries and cultural centers in Latin America.

By this time, the annual number of grants for academic exchanges with countries outside the Western Hemisphere made possible by the use of foreign currencies under the Fulbright Act far surpassed the grants of all types for Latin America: in 1950, approximately 2,374 for 15 countries with Fulbright programs outside the Western Hemisphere, compared to 450 for the 20 Latin American republics. In view of the implications of these changes in relation to Latin America, in 1950 the Advisory Commission recommended to the Department that it "investigate the possibility of utilizing foreign currency credits resulting from the sale of United States surplus property to stabilize the educational exchange program in the other American republics." [15]

As the 1940's drew to a close and the 1950's began, although the sounds and syllables of the cold war dominated the air waves and the press, these person-to-person exchange relationships throughout the world quietly grew in number under U.S. Government and private sponsorship. The program moved forward into a period of continuing expansion worldwide, under able leadership, and with the unstinting support of Senator J. William Fulbright and Senator Karl Mundt, its leading patrons in Congress, the U.S. Advisory Commission on Educational Exchange, the Board of Foreign Scholarships, and its nationwide constituency the educational community and a growing cross section of the American people.

Notes

CHAPTER XI

1. For sources of information on organizational changes see: *Progress Report of the Division of Cultural Relations, June 1940*, Dept. of State, Washington, D.C., pp. 4–13; Departmental orders 1218 of Jan. 15, 1944, 1281 of July 1, 1944, and 1285 of Sept. 1, 1944; *Department of State Bulletin* [hereinafter cited as *Bulletin*], X (Jan. 15, 1944), pp. 43–65; *ibid.* (Aug. 27, 1944), pp. 223–224; and *ibid.* (Sept. 10, 1944), pp. 283–284; *Report of the Division of Cultural Relations, Report of the Division of Science, Education and Art, Report of the Division of Cultural Cooperation, passim;* organizational section in *Department of State Register*, issues from Oct. 1939 through Sept. 1944, Dept. of State Library.
2. Dept. of State memoranda and correspondence, Feb. 21 to Mar. 8, 1944, NA, RG 59, 811.42700/3–744 CS/LE and 811.42700/3–244A; the report on

the proposed new legislation transmitted by the President to Congress to extend the cultural relations program worldwide is published in full in *Bulletin*, X (Mar. 4, 1944), pp. 215–218.

In the summer of 1944 the Dept. sent 2,500 copies of Hanson's *The Cultural-Cooperation Program* to 56 U.S. Foreign Service posts abroad and 3,000 to cooperating individuals and organizations in the United States to familiarize them with the exchange program to date in anticipation of its prospective extension worldwide. *Report of the Division of Science, Education, and Art*, July–August 1944, p. 16.

Ben M. Cherrington, "America's Future Cultural Relations," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 235 (Sept. 1944), pp. 79–82, presents a thoughtful statement of alternatives which might be considered at this turning point in the course of the program, in setting up a new structure for administering a worldwide cultural program in the postwar period. He sets forth his view on the pitfalls of administering it as part of an official Office of Public Information.

3. For an interesting running account of the viewpoints and voting in Congress, pro and con, on the debated levels of appropriations and the legislation under consideration for the program from 1945 to 1948, see Burton Paulu, *Factors in the Attempts to Establish a Permanent Instrumentality for the Administration of the International Broadcasting Services of the United States*, Ph.D. dissertation, New York Univ., 1949 (Ann Arbor, Mich.: Univ. Microfilms, Inc., 1973).

In January 1945, Congressman Mundt introduced a bill, H.R. 1740, to authorize an annual appropriation of $3 million for 5 successive years to provide scholarships for 1,000 students from the United States to attend in their junior year teachers colleges in Latin America, and for an equal number of Latin American students to attend during their junior year teachers colleges in the United States. In the United States the awards would be made to two students from each Congressional District, the remainder to be at-large. The idea was in part to provide better geographic participation by areas of the country which had tended to be neglected. The scholars would be selected by the Pan American Union. The Dept. considered the bill impractical and politely informed Congress accordingly urging instead the passage of the needed enabling legislation for the worldwide program. Dept. memoranda, Jan. 30, Mar. 17 and 24, 1945; and letter from Acting Secretary Joseph C. Grew to Congressman Bloom, Chairman, Committee on Foreign Affairs, House of Representatives, Apr. 30, 1945, CU/H.

4. "Termination of O.W.I. and Disposition of Certain Functions of O.I.A.A.—Statement of the President," *Bulletin*, XIII (Sept. 2, 1945), p. 306.
5. *Ibid.* (Sept. 16, 1945), p. 430.
6. *Ibid.* (Oct. 21, 1945), p. 591.
7. Departmental order 1336, Aug. 31, 1945; *Bulletin*, XIII (Sept. 9, 1945), p. 387. With this important reorganization, effected on Jan. 1, 1946, all overseas information functions of the Office of War Information (OWI) and the Office of Inter-American Affairs (OIAA) were blended into the State Dept.'s single permanent worldwide program.
8. This change in title was made to conform with the language of the Mundt bill which was before Congress at that time. ("Statement by Assistant Secretary Benton," *Bulletin*, XVII (Aug. 10, 1947), pp. 304–306.)

9. Ben M. Cherrington, "Ten Years After," *Association of American Colleges Bulletin*, XXXIV (Dec. 1948), pp. 5–16; Allen Blaisdell, "New Crisis in Cultural Relations," *News Bulletin*, Institute of International Education, XXIII (Jan. 1, 1948), pp. 3–9; Harry H. Pierson, "Smith-Mundt Bill Passes Congress," *ibid.* (Feb. 1, 1948), pp. 3–7; Charles A. Thomson and Walter H. C. Laves, *Cultural Relations and U.S. Foreign Policy* (Bloomington: Ind. Univ. Press, 1963), pp. 59–69. There is a good summary of the legislative steps leading up to the passage of the Smith-Mundt Act in Howard R. Ludden, *The International Information Program of the United States: State Department Years, 1945–1953*, Ph.D. dissertation, Princeton Univ., 1966 (Ann Arbor, Mich.: Univ. Microfilms Inc., 1974), pp. 52–90.

10. See the semiannual reports of the U.S. Advisory Commission on Educational Exchange to Congress cited in note 15, below. On Sept. 21, 1961, in accordance with the Fulbright-Hays Act (Public Law 87–256, 87th Cong.), the United States Advisory Commission on International Educational and Cultural Affairs was established to replace the United States Advisory Commission on Educational Exchange.

11. These designations, and the administrative relationships they represented, "illustrate the fact that with the cold war dominating the international scene, educational exchange was massively overshadowed by the information program." (Thomson and Laves, *op. cit.*, p. 72.) The "United States Information Service" label originated with the OWI and was first applied to its field posts in liberated France in Oct. 1944. (Murray Lawson, *The United States Information Agency: A History, Origins, 1933–1945* (U.S. Information Agency, Washington, D.C., 1970), vol. 1, ch. 1, p. 5.)

12. *Foreign Relations of the United States, 1948, vol. IX, The Western Hemisphere* (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1972), p. 280. In contrast, in the fall of 1944, at a time when U.S. diplomatic relations with Argentina were much more strained, as the Argentine Government's continued ties with the Axis constituted a serious obstacle to inter-American solidarity (Argentina did not declare war on Germany and Japan until Mar. 25, 1945!), the Chargé d'Affaires ad Interim of the U.S. Embassy in Buenos Aires commented on the cultural relations program as follows:

> "The Embassy believes that a period in which political relations between the Governments of the United States and Argentina are suspended is one in which the cultural relations program should be expanded to the maximum, in order that the Argentine people, whose support we desire to maintain, may be convinced that we are sincerely interested in the steady improvement of our relations with them, as opposed to the Government in power."

(Confidential desp. 16330 from the American Embassy, Buenos Aires, Oct. 10, 1944, NA, RG 59, 811.42735/10–1044.) See also, G. Howland Shaw, "Cultural Cooperation Program of the Department of State," *Bulletin*, X (May 13, 1944), p. 430.

In one instance during the war, when from Dec. 20, 1943 to June 23, 1944, the U.S. Government withheld recognition of the Bolivian Government on the grounds of its "Axis taint," from Jan. 4 to June 23 the Dept. of State suspended all cultural exchange activities with Bolivia. (*U.S. Policy Toward Latin America*, Historical Office, Bureau of Public Affairs, Dept. of State, publ. 8819, Inter-American Series 109, Washington, June 1975, pp. 14–18.)

3. First semiannual report of the U.S. Advisory Commission on Educational Exchange to Congress, 1949, H. Doc. 56, 81st Cong., 1st sess., p. 4.

4. See, for example, "Division of International Exchange of Persons—Material for Office of Information and Cultural Affairs (OIC) Background Binder," unpublished document prepared by IEP, 1946, as background for the congressional appropriations hearings for fiscal year 1948, pp. 167–197, CU/H.

5. First semiannual report of the U.S. Advisory Commission on Educational Exchange to Congress, 1949, *op. cit.*, p. 5; second semiannual report, 1950, H. Doc. 431, 81st Cong., 2d sess., pp. 4, 31; third semiannual report, 1950, H. Doc. 556, 81st Cong., 2d sess., p. 3; fourth semiannual report, 1950, H. Doc. 648, 81st Cong., 2d sess., p. 9; fifth semiannual report, 1951, H. Doc. 108, 82d Cong., 1st sess., p. 1; 14th semiannual report, 1955, H. Doc. 219, 84th Cong., 1st sess., p. 12; *Bulletin*, XVII (Aug. 10, 1947), pp. 304–306; Report of the Operations of the Department of State (Under Public Law 584), Mar. 19, 1951, H. Doc. 86, 82d Cong., 1st sess., p. 5.

One of the major programs assigned to the Assistant Secretary for Public fairs in the mid-1940's, following the abolition of the Office of War Informa- n, was the network of U.S. Information Libraries throughout the world, ntinuing in peacetime the successful program established in a large number countries by the Office of War Information during World War II. Between 48 and 1952 this program was directed by OEX, which, as noted earlier, had der its direction the Division of Libraries and Institutes (ILI) and the vision of International Exchange of Persons (IEP) during that period.

Highlights of Program in Latin America and in the United States

CHAPTER XII

The Program Abroad

During the period under review the network of relationships abroad and across the United States in the conduct of the program moved toward a more organized pattern, and various administrative arrangements aimed at improving the effectiveness of the program both as a people-to-people and public-private enterprise became institutionalized on a flexible but fairly firm basis.

In carrying out the program abroad the cultural relations officers at the U.S. Embassies, beginning with the first appointments in 1941, served as the official working counterparts of the Division of Cultural Relations in Washington. During the war years, at the principal Latin American posts, they worked closely with the local coordination committees, composed of alert and active local U.S. businessmen, which served the more generously funded programs administered by the Coordinator's Office. The orientation of the membership and the activities of the coordination committees were business, commerce, and the dissemination of U.S. information designed to support wartime goals; the cultural officer and his small staff were largely from the U.S. academic and intellectual community. Although the lines of responsibility were clearly delineated, the latter concerned with long-term cultural relations and the former with short-term war emergency goals, interests and relationships crossed at many points.[1] The cultural officer, involved with the whole gamut of cultural life and activities in his country of assignment, was most visible to his superiors in Washington through his efforts in processing exchange-of-persons grants and projects and in assuring the success of locally established educational and cultural programs and projects made possible or assisted by the allocation of funds from the Coordinator's budget. But in the long run, he may often have considered these less important than the less tangible aspects of his more time-consuming work in cultivating relationships within the educational and cultural life of the country.

The idea of assigning a special cultural relations officer to U.S. Embassies abroad to cultivate this dimension of international relations had been suggested to Department of State officials on various occasions long before the Division of Cultural Relations was established, but it was not discussed seriously in the Department until it was pursued by the Division of Cultural Relations through Cherrington and Thomson when the need became more evident during the months preceding Pearl Harbor. The first proposal, to our knowledge, was made by Roger S. Greene, administrator of the Union Medical College in Peking, China, to U.S. Ambassador to China Nelson Johnson in the early 1930's. On March 9, 1935, the American National Committee on Intellectual Cooperation, an affiliate of the League of Nations, concerned over the growing tendency in certain countries to restrict free intercourse in intellectual pursuits, recommended the assignment of "an attaché for intellectual cooperation" at each U.S. Embassy and Legation, like a military, naval, or commercial attaché. In 1937 Samuel Guy Inman, noting the growing intensity of cultural activity in Latin America on the part of certain European countries, suggested that "educational attachés" should be appointed for each of the U.S. Embassies there to promote U.S. cultural institutes and "act as a source of information for exchange students and professors, aid in literary and artistic exchange, provide for the interchange of books and reports . . . prepare monographs on educational problems in both countries, and in other ways do for cultural work at least what other attachés have done so enthusiastically in commercial and military matters." Greene elaborated on his ideas on the advantages of appointing "cultural attachés" in a persuasive letter to Cherrington in 1939, but the time was not ripe and it was relegated to the files.[2]

The first occasion for the State Department's public view on the subject, as noted earlier, was at the meeting of educational and cultural leaders the Department had convened on May 23, 1938, at which the Department had announced its intention of establishing a Division of Cultural Relations. At that time, when the question was asked "whether the new Division of Cultural Relations would be linked with persons in the Embassies or Legations abroad who might act as cultural attachés," it drew an unequivocally negative reply from Assistant Secretary Messersmith. A year later, in a memorandum to Cherrington, Messersmith elaborated on the policy he wished to pursue. He wrote,

> "There are certain totalitarian states which, as you know, are very anxious to appoint cultural attachés . . . They are no more than poorly concealed political agents, most of them working along subversive lines . . . Tentative efforts have been made by the totalitarian states to send cultural attachés to the American republics as well as to some of the major states of Europe . . . It would obviously be undesirable for the totalitarian states to send so-called cultural attachés to the American Republics.

> If we were to send cultural attachés there and they were received, the American Republics would similarly have to receive cultural attachés from Italy, Germany, etc. . . . From the political point of view, therefore, the consideration of the appointment of cultural attachés is out of the question." [3]

So persuasive were Messersmith's arguments that they prevailed until early 1941.

The Division of Cultural Relations appeared to be challenging this policy by insisting that in carrying out its intensified program "it would be more necessary than ever that the closest coordination be maintained between the permanent officers of the Division in the Department and officers in the field." Messersmith agreed to the preparation of a circular to the field on this subject to be drafted jointly by the Division of Cultural Relations and his own office.[4] The circular was never sent. While it was being prepared Messersmith signed and sent a differently worded circular instruction to the Chiefs of Mission in Latin America entitled "Appointment by the United States Government of Cultural or Educational Attachés to its Various Missions Abroad." Its purpose was to lay to rest, once and for all, any doubts about Department policy on the subject. Attached to the circular was a detailed letter Messersmith had written in answer to a letter from William M. Lewis, President of Lafayette College, Pennsylvania, stating why it was not desirable to assign U.S. cultural attachés to U.S. missions in Latin America or elsewhere. The circular was brief, and in effect was a summarization of the attached letter. It stated:

> "From time to time the suggestion is made that the Government of the United States assign so-called cultural or educational attachés to its various missions abroad. Very careful consideration has been given to this matter, and the conclusion has been reached that such assignments would be undesirable and not in accordance with the general policy of this Government . . . It may be pointed out that it has been particularly the totalitarian states which have been desirous of appointing 'cultural attachés,' whose activities and whose identification with propaganda not conducive to the maintenance of stable conditions in the receiving countries, are sufficiently well known. The majority of countries have declined to receive cultural attachés although in some cases they have been accepted under pressure. The German Government has been especially desirous of sending 'cultural attachés' to the American republics and this Government for obvious reasons would be unwilling to take any step which, through misunderstanding of our own objectives, might facilitate the appointment of 'cultural attachés' in this hemisphere by any non-American government.
>
> "Since the concept of an official culture is entirely alien to the United States, it is obvious that the cultural exchanges

> between the United States and the American republics which we are anxious to promote can best be conducted with the assistance in Washington of the Division of Cultural Relations of the Department of State, acting as a clearing house and coordinating agency for the activities of non-governmental organizations and utilizing the cooperation in the field of the personnel of the Foreign Service."[5]

The Department followed this policy as laid down by Messersmith until the spring of 1941. At about that time the Department seems to have concluded that cultural relations officers were needed in Latin America to handle the considerable expansion of cultural activities occasioned by the war. An important factor was the appointment of G. Howland Shaw, who recognized this need, as Assistant Secretary for Administration on March 4, 1941. In July 1941 the Department requested and obtained from President Roosevelt permission to establish a noncareer temporary Foreign Service auxiliary to enable it to make a fuller contribution to the national defense effort.[6] On August 29, 1941, the Department informed all of its Latin American missions that it was in the process of appointing junior and senior cultural assistants to serve on their respective staffs.[7] It was pointed out that the appointees were temporary in nature, "for the period of the emergency," paid from the President's emergency funds. They were to serve under the direction and supervision of the officer in charge of the U.S. Foreign Service post to which they were assigned. Their job was to "be primarily responsible for the development and maintenance of friendly relations with cultural leaders in the country where they are stationed. They will be concerned with such matters as the exchange of students and professors; the exhibition and distribution of motion picture films; arrangements for visits of distinguished citizens or officials between the United States and the foreign country in question; the cultural activities of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs; and liaison with local cultural and scientific institutions. They will be expected to report on all of these matters and to submit recommendations regarding ways and means in which the program of cultural relations may be improved." The following month the posts were informed that the cultural relations assistants would henceforth bear the title of "cultural relations officers." And on October 11, 1943, the posts were advised that those who were stationed at diplomatic missions were given the official title of "cultural relations attachés."[8]

Recruitment of cultural officers began in earnest in the late spring and summer of 1941. Candidates were advised that the appointments were temporary for the period of the emergency, with the possibility that some of the positions might be made permanent. The first appointments were made from lists of candidates prepared by officers of the Division in consultation with other offices of the Department, other Government agencies, university and college officials, and foundation representatives and educational leaders on the various advisory committees of the Division. Most of the first appointees on the senior level were from the academic community, with professors of Romance languages predominating; or from the intellectual and cultural scene. The first to be designated was Herschel Brickell, Cultural Relations Officer (later Attaché) to the U.S. Embassy in Bogotá, appointed in 1941 before the formal entry of the United States in the war.[9] Mr. Brickell, a well-known man of letters, had won distinction in literary circles as editor, publisher, and literary critic. He had lived in Spain and France and had a thorough background of acquaintance with literature in Spanish and French as well as English. A Southerner long resident in New York he had an intimate knowledge of the U.S. cultural scene. By the close of the year 1941 the Department had assigned full or part-time cultural relations officers to 11 Latin American countries—Argentina, Brazil, Colombia, Chile, Costa Rica, Dominican Republic, Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua, Paraguay, and Uruguay. By March of 1942, Haiti, Mexico, and Ecuador were added. By the end of that year Bolivia, El Salvador, and Venezuela were added, making the total 17. By December 1945 cultural relations officers were stationed in each of the 20 Latin American countries.[10] (See Appendix II.)

The status of the cultural relations officers in the Embassy was set forth in a circular to the field of September 22, 1941:[11] "The status of the members of the Auxiliary Service in the respective diplomatic missions or consular offices is, except for its temporary character, the same as that of any other personnel of the Foreign Service. The question of whether or not they will be included in the local diplomatic or consular lists will be regulated by the chiefs of mission or principal consular officers under whose direction they will serve." Some posts were more bureaucratic than others in this regard, and in some instances, where the cultural officer was recognized as a distinguished scholar in the highest intellectual circles, but with limitations on his diplomatic status, there were occasions when this was somewhat embarrassing both to him and to sensitive Foreign Service officers with fuller diplomatic status. At the same time some Foreign Service officers were not happy with the better salaries received by senior cultural officers from the President's Emergency Fund outside the requirements of the established Foreign Service salary schedule. Early in 1943 the Advisory Committee briefly discussed the question as to whether cultural officers should be made a career service or continued on the basis of recruiting persons of mature age and scholarly prestige for 1- or 2-year appointments, without reaching any conclusion.[13]

By January 1942 the Division had prepared an outline of the specific duties of the cultural officer which was sent as guidance to prospective candidates. It read as follows:

> "1. To represent the Department in general and the Division of Cultural Relations in particular in all matters of a cultural nature or implication.
>
> "2. To advise the Ambassador or Minister and the other members of his staff on matters of a cultural nature, and to represent the head of the mission on such occasions as he may request.
>
> "3. To familiarize himself with the various expressions of the cultural life of the country, such as literature, works of art, music, the press, the schools, social welfare organization.
>
> "4. To cultivate the acquaintance of prominent persons in the various fields of cultural activity, such as writers, artists, musicians, journalists, educators, and librarians, physicians, engineers, research scholars, publicists, and leaders of national thought and opinion in general.
>
> "5. To cultivate the acquaintance, with the initial aid of the head of the mission, of responsible Government officials who are directly concerned with public education, fine arts, or other activities of a cultural nature.
>
> "6. To observe closely such phases of the economic, social, and political life of the country as may affect the efficacy of the cultural relations program.
>
> "7. To study the daily and magazine press for expressions of opinion on cultural, educational and social questions, reports of events of significance, and political developments which might have cultural implications.
>
> "8. To observe carefully current developments in the publishing business and book trade of the country.
>
> "9. To be as helpful as possible in making profitable the stay of visiting Americans whose visit has cultural significance.
>
> "10. To suggest to the Department the names of prominent leaders in cultural, educational and social fields who might be given travel grants.
>
> "11. To take such steps as are practicable to obtain the best results from the interchange of students and professors under the Buenos Aires Convention and on travel grants.
>
> "12. To encourage and tactfully to advise those in charge of the work of the cultural institutes and United States libraries in the country, and generally to promote their usefulness as a medium of cultural interchange.
>
> "13. To investigate the needs of libraries, institutions of learning, and other centers of cultural activity for books and other publications, which might advantageously be met by do-

> nations from the United States or by supplying information as to their purchase in this country.
>
> "14. To study means of furthering the usefulness of American schools in the country.
>
> "15. To promote the display of educational films sent to the Embassy or Legation by the Division.
>
> "16. To facilitate the local broadcasting of programs of an educational nature and representative of the best features of American life." [13]

It is clear that the cultural officer was expected to be a person of many talents.

The interest of the U.S. Ambassador was a key factor in the effective use of the cultural officer. William Schurz, the officer in the Division who was responsible for supervising the effectiveness of the work of the cultural officers, commented on their status on January 5, 1942:

> "There appears to be little uniformity in the way in which they operate. . . . This diversity is probably due to the particular conditions which prevail in each mission and to the Ambassador's or the Minister's concept of the place of the cultural officer on his staff. It appears that some heads of missions are disposed to leave the conduct of cultural relations to the new Coordinating Committees, using the cultural officer primarily as a liaison between the mission and the Committee. In certain missions the pressure of other work is so heavy that the head of the mission is in the habit of using the cultural officer on whatever urgent business is at hand."

This situation especially prevailed in Brazil which had an "unusually assertive Coordinating Committee in Rio," where "the Ambassador has virtually turned over cultural matters to the Coordinating Committee." [14] These types of administrative problems during the early war years were somewhat remedied by persistent joint efforts by the Department and the Coordinator's Office in Washington.

It was the cultural relations officer's function to serve as the principal link with all aspects of cultural, intellectual, and educational life in the various countries participating in the program. His activities were diverse and reached people at all levels.[15] Among the more distinguished appointments up to 1945 were Herschel Brickell, to Colombia; Dr. Hayward Keniston, head of the department of Romance languages at the University of Michigan, to Argentina; Dr. George Vaillant, archeologist and Director of the University Museum, University of Pennsylvania, to Peru; Dr. Lawrence Kinnaird, Professor of History, University of California, to Chile; and Dr. Carleton Sprague Smith, distinguished Latin Americanist and musician and Dr. William Rex Crawford, Professor of Sociology, University of Pennsylvania, to Brazil.

The various educational and cultural exchange activities carried out in Latin America under the Department program are described in other chapters. In this chapter a fuller account is given of the history of three cooperative binational activities developed in the Latin American countries during these years which established lasting program patterns: (1) the formulation of an effective system for the overseas selection of candidates for university study and training in the United States; (2) the development of closer collaboration with binational cultural institutes or centers, and the related creation of U.S. libraries; and (3) the program of support for American-sponsored schools. In each case the programs developed in Latin America became the models for similar programs in other areas of the world.

The interest of the U.S. Government in developing a uniform system for selecting Latin Americans interested in study and training in U.S. universities and colleges began with the awarding of travel grants by the Department outside the framework of the Buenos Aires Convention. The Department turned to the Institute of International Education to administer the travel grant program in the United States. The Institute, as noted earlier, was already administering funds from the Coordinator's Office to help match the increasing number of partial grants being offered by U.S. universities and colleges for Latin American students, along with the other privately sponsored inter-American student programs it had been administering for years. The formulation of a uniform procedure for the overseas screening and selecting of candidates for grants was based on the Institute's earlier experience in setting up *ad hoc* committees, with local university officials as members, and using the cultural institute, where an active one existed, as the headquarters for the committee. The Institute initiated the system in the various Latin American countries by requesting the rector of the university in the capital or a distinguished scholar to appoint such a committee, usually numbering not more than seven, of whom two were resident U.S. citizens familiar with the U.S. system of higher education. The chairman and the secretary of the committee were usually nationals. The members of the committee were always appointed with the approval of the U.S. ambassador or minister and, following the appointment of a cultural officer at each post beginning in 1941, he also served as nonvoting member of the local screening committee. The attempt was made to have the membership of the committee include representatives of science, social studies, fine arts, and business; and when candidates were being considered in highly specialized fields, experts in those fields were invited to participate in the screening.

As early as possible in the fall the Institute notified the selection committee in each country of the number of scholarships available for the following academic year. The committee then advertised the opportunities as widely as possible throughout the country, requesting interested students to fill out application blanks provided by the Institute to the committee. There was always a much larger number of applicants than scholarships at the disposal of the committee, and from these a list of the best candidates was sent to the Institute for final selection. Successful candidates were then notified by the local committee. In the placement of the students in U.S. universities, the three major considerations were the field of study, the student's preference for a particular institution, and the degree of cooperation on the part of the U.S. universities and colleges—the number and type of scholarships they offered, their preference as to nationality and field of study, and the extent to which this choice could be determined by the Institute.[16]

In the early 1940's the selection committee problems in some cases appeared insurmountable. Committees met and selected candidates without the presence of U.S. members. In some cases political pressures for handpicking candidates made the operation a constant nightmare. In one country the President did not trust some of the members of the committee whom he considered political enemies and insisted on approving all nominations. In an effort to strengthen the committees and place these competitive selections on an absolutely impartial basis, the Department recommended a closer integration of the committee with the cultural institute as a channel and symbol of an impartial cooperative program. In some countries there was a widespread impression outside the capital that candidates from the capital were favored. As the various Government and private scholarship opportunities increased in number, these difficulties were further complicated by confusion about the types of scholarships and the manner in which they were awarded, since many of the private awards and technical training grants of other U.S. Government agencies were not made through open competition. Through persistent effort, however, the selection committees overcame these major obstacles, and by 1946 the procedures were firmly and effectively established, and were to serve as the model for setting up similar committees in other countries. By that time they were entitled "Committees on Study and Training in the United States." [17]

By the late 1940's the Department, in close cooperation with the

Institute of International Education, had developed basic guidelines for the committees. By 1946 active committees were carrying out this work, following uniform screening and selection procedures, in the capitals of all of the Latin American countries. In Argentina and Brazil regional committees were in operation in several other large cities. The size of the committees and the character of their membership followed the pattern previously established by the Institute. The preferred appointment of members of the committee was by the board of directors of an active binational cultural institute, thus giving the committee an autonomous and independent source of authority. In other cases, adapting to the local situation, the committee members were appointed by the officer in charge of the U.S. Foreign Service post with the understanding that the committee would affiliate itself with a recognized cultural institute or similar binational organization if such an organization were in operation.

By now the high standards required for candidates under this system were more widely publicized and recognized. The committees in the larger centers assumed the responsibility for assisting private organizations and foundations, as well as U.S. Government-sponsored programs, in many cases acting as the recognized agency in the country for all educational institutions, foundations, and other private interests.[18] In the late 1940's there were 33 committees in 20 Latin American countries operating to maintain high standards for selecting the Latin American students sent to U.S. universities and colleges. By the end of the decade the system had been extended to 35 other countries throughout the world.[19]

The program of aid to binational cultural institutes in Latin American countries and the interest in establishing new ones, as mentioned earlier, were spurred by the wartime effort to counteract the well organized officially supported institutes of the Axis countries, as well as the Europe-oriented institutes similarly cultivated by the British and French Governments. In an attempt to intensify channels of U.S. influence after Pearl Harbor, it was argued that by encouraging many more cultural institutes in centers outside the major cities U.S. influence would extend to segments of the population which otherwise could not be effectively reached. Support for a few of the already organized U.S.-national institutes, located in some of the major capitals, had begun with funding by the Coordinator's Office in 1941. It was done on a modest scale with funds channeled through the American Council of Learned Societies and the American Library Association, on the basis of policies developed under the aegis of the Department. After Pearl Harbor the Division of Cultural Relations became impatient with the slow pace of the Coordinator's support efforts, and by the time the activity was transferred from the Coordinator to the Division in mid-1943, the Division had convinced higher officials in the Department that it required additional staff for full-time supervision and direction. It also convinced them that aid to existing institutes, and founding new ones, should come directly from the U.S. Government, open and acknowledged, and not be indirectly channeled through a private organization. Some officers of the Department and members of the General Advisory Committee had reservations concerning this new and untried type of direct U.S. Government action in cultural relations, but in this instance their views did not prevail.

Support for cultural institutes became a direct U.S. Government activity and a unit was established in the Division to manage the operation. By the late 1940's this unit had expanded to the extent that it had become larger than the one responsible for the exchange of persons. It was one of several units which had originally been together under the Division of Cultural Relations, but which were now separate parts of a larger single organizational structure in the Department, each operating more or less independently one from the other.[20]

Before the war eight centers were in existence in major capitals, each founded as a cooperative undertaking by nationals of the country and resident U.S. citizens moved by a desire for an organization which would further mutual good will and increase understanding of their different ways of life. Eight more were organized in 1942 and six in 1943 and 1944. Most persons active in these societies had studied in the United States or had other ties. They had no connection with the U.S. Government. The founders became the nucleus of a membership that included the outstanding intellectual leaders of each country. Such leadership enhanced their prestige as centers dedicated to the cultivation and increase of inter-American intellectual and cultural interchange.

By the end of the war the Department of State was assisting 27 independent and 20 branch cultural centers in the Latin American countries. It was providing the salaries, amounting to $110,000, of 20 directors and 27 U.S. teachers of English in the centers; supplying annually approximately $50,000 worth of cultural materials; and paying about 20 percent ($42,700) of their local operating expenses—the other 80 percent was raised locally by the institutes as contributions, membership dues, and class fees. Each year some 10,000 dues-paying members supported the 27 independent centers; more than 24,000 students were enrolled in English classes; and some 150,000 persons attended their public activities.[21]

In the development of the institutes a principal activity from the beginning was English language teaching, and in the absence of trained English teachers, administrative personnel, and adequate books and other educational materials, the institutes sought assistance through U.S. Embassies and consulates. Other major activities were the maintenance of libraries which often became the center of many of the institute's public functions; lectures by distinguished U.S. and Latin American scholars and cultural leaders; recitals and concerts; art exhibits; presentation of educational and documentary films; radio broadcasts including English courses; a music library of recordings with radio-phonograph equipment; production of plays; sports activities; summer English seminars for teachers; informal social events; and in some cases the publication of news bulletins. In general, the physical plant of the center, although varying in size, was, as today, an attractively furnished building located in the central business section of the city, with classrooms, a large auditorium, a well-stocked library and reading room, offices, a lounge, and a tearoom. All had attractive outside patios and gardens. In Haiti for a time the institute quarters included limited space for housing visiting U.S. scholars.[22]

The oldest of the binational cultural institutes was the Instituto Cultural Argentino-Norteamericano founded on May 9, 1928, the model for all the others, as noted earlier. Seven others were founded through private local initiatives during the 3 years following the Buenos Aires Conference (Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, January 13, 1937; Lima, Peru, June 2, 1938; São Paulo, Brazil, June 15, 1938; Porto Alegre, Brazil, July 14, 1938; Santiago, Chile, November 24, 1938; Tegucigalpa, Honduras, February 12, 1939; and Montevideo, Uruguay, September 1939). Two others were founded before the end of 1940, one in Córdoba, Argentina, and the important institute in Bogotá, Colombia, founded on September 5, 1940. By the end of 1941 three additional cultural institutes were established: Florianópolis, Brazil; Quito, Ecuador; and Caracas, Venezuela. The institute at Florianópolis was in the heart of the largest solid block of people of German origin in Latin America, where German settlers had been arriving in considerable numbers since as early as 1828. It was a hotbed of Nazi propaganda effort. The nationalization of the German schools in the area in the late 1930's, and Brazil's entry into the war encouraged local Brazilians to support a U.S.-Brazilian cultural institute in Florianópolis, and with its establishment almost every important Brazilian official from the Governor down became an active member. By February 1942 two more were added, in Curitiba, Brazil, and in Havana, Cuba; and by the end of 1942, the influential Instituto Mexicano-Norte Americano de Relaciones Culturales was established in Mexico City, bringing the total number to 16.[23]

The national members of these binational cultural institutes represented a veritable *Who's Who* of Latin American intellectual and cultural leaders. A few examples from Chile and Mexico during the years under review will illustrate the areas of intellectual leadership they represented and the important role they played in fostering the development of the institutes in their countries. In Chile the idea of establishing a Chilean-U.S. Cultural Institute is attributed to the Under Secretary of Foreign Affairs in Chile, Benjamín Cohen, who developed the plan in 1938. He had studied at Georgetown University and later served as Secretary at the Chilean Embassy in Washington. Professor Eugenio Pereira Salas of the National University, the internationally known Chilean historian and authority on U.S.-Chilean relations, was also a prime mover in the establishment of the Institute, which was inaugurated in Santiago on U.S. Thanksgiving Day 1938. Dr. Pereira Salas was one of the first members of the board, and one of its most active leaders for several decades.

The Mexican-North American Institute established in early 1942 had among its founders Dr. Samuel Ramos, Chief of the Mexican Commission of Intellectual Cooperation, a highly respected philosopher; Alfonso Reyes, well-known essayist and poet, who had served his country in diplomatic posts in Paris and Madrid, and as president of the esteemed Colegio de Mexico; Dr. Manuel Sandoval Vallarta, the internationally known nuclear physicist; and Dr. Pablo Martínez del Rio, historian and professor at the National University. Mention should be made of Edward G. Trueblood, a Foreign Service officer in the U.S. Embassy at Santiago and Mexico City, who played a key role in both countries, one preceding and the other following his assignment as Assistant Chief of the Division of Cultural Relations in Washington. This was the type of cultural leadership that characterized the development of the institutes in the major capitals of the Latin American countries, and which contributed significantly to their becoming important hubs of inter-American cultural relations over the years.[24]

Among the major long-term contributions of the binational cultural institutes were: the development of English language teaching on a solid professional basis in instruction and textbook preparation in many of the Latin American countries; the institutes' model libraries; the lecture programs which furthered the interchange of ideas through lectures by distinguished U.S. leaders whose visits were sponsored under U.S. Government or private auspices, as well as by Latin American leaders; their role as administrative headquarters of the Committees on Study and Training in the United States; and their relations with universities, ministries of education, and community organizations in the various countries which enabled these groups to borrow ideas and methods, and to utilize the professional English teaching and library staffs of the institutes as consultants and part-time instructors for university courses and summer seminars. By the end of 1947 the annual investment of the U.S. Government in all of the activities of the centers was approximately $500,000, a modest price for a long-term institution building investment in inter-American cultural relations.[25]

In the mid-1940's some of the good will engendered throughout Latin America by the Good Neighbor Policy and exemplified by the highly personalized cooperative relationships at the centers changed as they became more business-like and professional in character under trained U.S. directors and professionals trained in teaching English as a foreign language.[26] Some of the smaller centers received less attention, including Florianópolis, and others that were the offspring of the wartime enthusiasm did not survive. In some cases the centers are no longer under U.S. direction and have moved ahead independently. In most cases they continue to flourish as locally inspired people-to-people centers that contribute significantly to cooperative inter-American cultural relations.

A related institutional development initiated during these years was the establishment by the Coordinator's Office in 1942 and 1943 of three major American libraries in Latin America: the Benjamin Franklin Library in Mexico City opened in April 1942; the Biblioteca Americana de Nicaragua in Managua, Nicaragua, dedicated in November 1942; and the Artigas-Washington Library in Montevideo, Uruguay, opened in August 1943. In 1943 the collection at Mexico City contained about 7,900 books and the others had about 3,000 each. In the single month of December 1943 over 10,000 persons from all levels of society borrowed books or used the reading rooms and reference services of the three libraries. The libraries worked closely with the cultural institutes in the three capitals. The model English teaching program, independently initiated in Mexico City in 1942, developed in 1943 under the able leadership of Dr. Albert Marckwardt of the University of Michigan, and, during a brief period under the administration of the Benjamin Franklin Library, was integrated as a part of the work of the Cultural Institute in 1944. Until 1945 these libraries were administered by the American Library Association under a grant-in-aid from the Coordinator's Office. Beginning in 1947 they were administered directly by the Department, until the transfer of this responsibility to the U.S. Information Agency when it was established in 1953.[27]

The third long-term institutional contribution of the Department in Latin America, begun by the Coordinator's Office with its war emergency funds and transferred to the Department in 1943, was support for American-sponsored schools. The earliest idea for the establishment of several nonsectarian schools of this type was evolved in the course of events preceding the Bryan-Chamorro Treaty of 1916, one of the efforts at that time to establish a stable peace in Central America. Such schools were suggested for Central America which would draw students to the United States to finish their studies. The schools would teach classes in English and be open to both national and resident U.S. students. The plan was discussed off and on between 1913 and 1916 with proposed joint funding by the U.S. Government and the governments of the Central American countries. The plan was to follow the successful experience of the small schools maintained by the Germans and supported by the German Government in the capitals of these countries. It was suggested that U.S. teachers with experience in the Philippines and Puerto Rico, especially, might establish the schools with support from U.S. philanthropic organizations. The idea had the sympathetic support of President Wilson and Secretary of State Robert Lansing, and the Rockefeller Foundation and the Carnegie Endowment were consulted, but it did not materialize.[28]

It was not until the fall of 1940 that the matter was again seriously discussed in the Department. At that time, as a result of suggestions originating in various U.S. Embassies and Legations in Latin American countries, it was proposed that a survey be made of the organization, standing, and influence of American schools in Latin America by a reputable, impartial agency. It was agreed at a meeting of representatives of the Department, the Coordinator, the Office of Education, and the National Education Association that the Department send a circular instruction to the posts inquiring as to which countries should be included in the survey and which existing schools should be considered.[29] The Embassy in Costa Rica, noting that the German and Italian schools were being used as effective channels of propaganda, suggested that the establishment of U.S. schools with the sole objective of teaching children English was more important at that time than "being absorbed exclusively by the program for an exchange of professors and students."[30] But this was an extreme view, inspired by the growing Axis propaganda campaign in Latin America and did not reflect or influence policy in the Department, although some officials were straining to find ways to combat the Axis. In 1941 there were reported to be 888 schools officially supported by Axis countries in Latin America, and a preliminary survey by the Coordinator's Office revealed that independent privately sponsored American schools, which were few by comparison, were suffering financially from the war through the decline of local donations.

A program of U.S. Government assistance, funded by the Coordinator's Office, was initiated in the fall of 1941. It was agreed that American schools could be "valuable bridgeheads of understanding," bringing together students at a most impressionable age and facilitating the teaching of English and demonstrating U.S. educational methods. The U.S. Government moved into this new field cautiously and on a modest experimental basis. It was agreed that only existing schools would be assisted; the founding of new ones would not be considered. It was also agreed that only independent, community-administered, binational schools would be assisted, as appropriate, and that assistance to denominational, company, and profit-making schools (there were several hundred of them in Latin America) "would be unfeasible," "improper," and "would have unfortunate repercussions." Funds were transferred to the American Council on Education for disbursement to the schools. By January 1942 three American-sponsored schools were given financial assistance: one in Ciudad Trujillo, Dominican Republic; one in Managua, Nicaragua; and one in Quito, Ecuador.

One of the founders of the school in Ecuador, the Ecuadorean statesman Galo Plaza, reported that he withdrew his daughter from the German School in Quito, despite its excellent academic instruction, and took steps to help establish the new American school, when she greeted him on arriving home one day with a clicking of heels and salute accompanied by the words: "Heil Hitler."

In 1942 an extensive survey of the schools, sponsored by the Department and funded by the Coordinator's Office, resulted in a proposal for a multimillion dollar program, beyond the realm of consideration, involving a proposed outlay of amounts averaging $350,000 for each of 37 school aid projects.[31] Actually, by July 1, 1943, when the program was transferred to the Department, a total of nine schools had been assisted.[32]

In the changed atmosphere toward the close of the war and in the postwar period the Department viewed the American school program in a new light, in the framework of the original overall goals of the cultural program. It saw the binational enrollment, U.S. patterns of instruction, and English teaching as valuable contributions to better intercultural understanding, and adopted the specific policies as originally formulated.[33] These policies were applied to other areas of the world as additional existing American-type schools and new ones were organized during the war and subsequently under the worldwide cultural program of the Department, authorized by Congress in 1948 under the Smith-Mundt Act. In authorizing the Department to provide assistance to schools abroad, founded or sponsored by citizens of the United States, this Act reiterated earlier established policy in the statement ". . . the Secretary shall exercise no control over their educational policies . . ."

From 1943 through the 1940's, 34 American-sponsored schools in 17 of the Latin American countries received financial grants under this program. All of the schools were at the primary and secondary level. The 1943 allocation was $250,000.[34] The allocation up through 1950 dwindled to an annual level of approximately $165,000.

In assisting these schools the Department utilized the services, under contract, of the Inter-American Schools Service of the American Council on Education. Under this arrangement, by the mid-1950's the Schools Service provided direct or facilitative professional services to approximately 230 of the American-sponsored primary and secondary schools in Latin America with an annual enrollment of over 70,000 students. These schools represented a private investment of approximately $15 million, with annual operating expenses of over $5 million. By that time it was estimated that more than a million Latin American children had attended these schools with U.S. children. Studying and playing together, both groups became bilingual. In the schools that received Department funds, approximately 60 percent of the students were Latin American. Over the years many of the graduates went to the United States for their university education, and many became important leaders in their countries.[35]

The principal activities of the Schools Service were the recruitment of U.S. teachers and school directors; professional educational advice and assistance; liaison with U.S. accrediting agencies with which the schools became affiliated, especially the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools; stimulation of financial support from U.S. business firms with branches in the countries concerned; and circulation of a quarterly educational *Newsletter* to the schools. The funds from the Department were used largely for salaries to attract the best teachers. Some of the schools assisted came to serve as demonstration and training centers for teachers in the national schools, thus contributing to the national educational systems in these countries. The American School in Guatemala was a notable early example. Also, certain universities and schools in the United States linked themselves with some of the schools to carry out various joint educational programs.[36]

Notes

CHAPTER XII

1. Report of trip of John C. Dreier and John McClintock to Latin America, Aug. 23 to Nov. 10, 1941, regarding the establishment of Coordination Committees, NA, RG 59, WHB, Box 57; memorandum, William L. Schurz to John C. Dreier, Jan. 17, 1942, *ibid.*, Box 55. Other related memoranda in Box 55.
2. Letter, Roger S. Greene to Stuart E. Grummon, Mar. 8, 1942, and enclosed copy of letter to Ben M. Cherrington, Mar. 29, 1939, NA, RG 59, WHB, Box 53; Samuel Guy Inman, "Building an Inter-American Neighborhood," *World Affairs Book No. 20*, National Peace Conference, New York, 1937, p. 48.
3. Murray Lawson, *The United States Information Agency: A History, Origins, 1933–1945* (U.S. Information Agency, Washington, D.C., 1970), vol. 1, ch. 3, pp. 61–62.
4. *Ibid.*, vol. 1, ch. 3, p. 66.
5. Circular instruction and enclosure to Latin American Chiefs of Mission and Consulates General, Washington, D.C., Dec. 20, 1939, NA, RG 59, 121.53/50, WHB, Box 55.
6. Lawson, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, ch. 3, p. 67.
7. Circular instruction to American diplomatic and consular officers in the other American republics, "Foreign Service Auxiliary," Aug. 29, 1941, NA, RG 59, 120.31 Auxiliary A, and CU/H.
8. Circular instruction to Latin American diplomatic and consular officers, "Foreign Service Auxiliary—Status of Officers Handling Cultural Affairs," Oct. 11, 1943, NA, RG 59, 120.31 Auxiliary/98A, and CU/H.
9. Muna Lee, "The Cultural Relations Attaché," *The Record*, I (Dept. of State: June 1945), p. 3.
10. Division of Cultural Relations memoranda, Nov. 27, 1941 and Mar. 1942, NA, RG 59, WHB, Box 55; *Report of the Division of Cultural Relations*, Apr. 1943; *News Bulletin*, Institute of International Education, XXI, 3 (Dec. 1, 1945), p. 13.
11. Circular instruction to American diplomatic and consular officers in the other American republics, "Foreign Service Auxiliary," Sept. 22, 1941, NA, RG 59, 120.31 Auxiliary 2A.
12. "Minutes of the General Advisory Committee," Feb. 24, 1943, pp. 39–41, NA, RG 353, SCC, Boxes 1 and 29.
13. Approximately Jan. 1942. NA, RG 59, WHB, Box 55.

14. Memorandum, William L. Schurz to Charles A. Thomson, Jan. 5, 1942, NA, RG 59, WHB, Box 55. See also, Arthur W. Macmahon, *Memorandum on the Postwar International Information Program of the United States* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1945), pp. 128–130.

15. A picture of the day-to-day work of the cultural affairs officer during this period may be found in the correspondence and reports from cultural relations officers to the Dept., and Dept. messages to the posts on the subject. The correspondence and reports from Francis J. Colligan, cultural relations officer and Cultural Attaché in Quito from 1942 to 1945 present a fairly complete case history (NA, RG 59, WHB, Box 55; NA, RG 59, 811.42722 Student Exchange/236, 811.42722/72, 42722 SE/489 1/2, 811.42722 SE/513, 811.42722 SE/11–2544). Howard Lee Nostrand's *The Cultural Attaché* (New Haven: The Edward W. Hazen Foundation, 1947), presents a thoughtful analysis of the subject. He served as Cultural Attaché in Lima, Peru, from 1945–1947. Three other useful analyses of the work of the cultural relations officer during this period are those of Morrill Cody, "The Work of the Cultural Relations Attaché," *Department of State Bulletin* [hereinafter cited as *Bulletin*], XII (Apr. 1, 1945), pp. 574–575; Lee, "The Cultural Relations Attaché, *op. cit.*, pp. 1–7; and Kent Smith, *The United States Cultural Crusade in Mexico, 1938–1945*, Ph.D. dissertation, Univ. of Calif., Berkeley, 1972, pp. 53–72. A good summary of the policy considerations leading to the appointment of cultural officers may be found in Lawson, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, ch. 3, pp. 59–69. Three more recent commentaries on the subject are Charles A. Frankel, *The Neglected Aspect of Foreign Affairs: American Educational and Cultural Policy Abroad* (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution, 1965), ch. I entitled "The Man in the Middle," pp. 9–23; James H. Webb, Jr., "Cultural Attaché: Scholar, Propagandist, or Bureaucrat?," *The South Atlantic Quarterly*, LXXI (Summer 1972), pp. 352–364; John H. Esterline and Robert B. Black, *Inside Foreign Policy, The Department of State Political System and Its Subsystems* (Palo Alto, Calif.: Mayfield Publishing Co., 1975), pp. 160–164.

16. Stephen Duggan, "International Exchange of Students," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* (Sept. 1944), p. 11, and his *A Professor at Large*, (New York: Macmillan Co., 1943), pp. 399–401.

17. "Memorandum on Committees on Study and Training in the United States," and accompanying "Sample By-Laws for Selection Committees," Dept. of State, Dec. 1946. Copy in CU/H.

18. *Ibid.*

19. *Handbook for Committees on Study and Training in the United States* (New York: Institute of International Education, 1949), app. C.

20. Memoranda, May 14, 1941–May 14, 1942, Division of Cultural Relations, Dept. of State, *passim*. NA, RG 59, WHB, Box 55.

21. *Ibid.*; Dorothy Greene and Shirley Goodman Esman, "Cultural Centers in the Other American Republics," *Bulletin*, XIV (Feb. 17, 1946), pp. 227–228; Smith, *op. cit.*, pp. 93–94; Donald H. Scott, *The Cultural Institute in Mexico*, Ph.D. Dissertation, Univ. of Southern Calif., 1959, pp. 320–339; Lewis Allbee, *Education as an Implement of U.S. Foreign Policy (1938–1948)* (Ann Arbor, Mich.: Edwards Brothers, Inc., 1948), pp. 89–97. A running account of the activities of the centers through 1948 may be found in the monthly and bimonthly reports of the Division of Science,

Education and Art, the Division of Cultural Cooperation, and *The Record.*

22. Greene and Esman, *op. cit.*, pp. 228–232, 262; Leonard R. Klein, "Making Friends with our Neighbors," *Bulletin of the Pan American Union*, LXXXI (Sept. 1971), pp. 467–475; Josephine C. Fabilli, "Libraries in United States Cultural Centers in the Other American Republics," *The Record*, XI (May 1946), pp. 9–17; Edmund R. Murphy, "Cooperation with Cultural Centers in the Other American Republics, 1947," *Bulletin*, XVII (Oct. 26, 1947), pp. 804–811; desp. 2190 and 2573, Amemb., Port-au-Prince, Haiti, Sept. 4, 1943, and Feb. 17, 1944, NA, RG 59, 811.42738/58 PS/JW, and 811.42738/65 PS/JW. As a part of the exchange-of-persons program beginning in the early 1940's distinguished U.S. lecturers in some instances were sent on a circuit primarily to speak at cultural centers, and specialists in English teaching were sent to lecture and help conduct seminars for teachers of English at cultural centers.
23. "Cultural Institutes," memorandum, Division of Cultural Relations, Dept. of State, Aug. 1941, pp. 3–8, NA, RG 353, SCC, Box 13; *ibid.*, Feb. 1942, NA, RG 59, WHB, Box 55; Robert Avrett, "ICANA—A Link Between Two Cultures," *The Record*, XIII (Aug. 1946), pp. 7–10; desp. 71, AmConsulate General, Florianópolis, Brazil, Dec. 19, 1942, NA, RG 59, 811.42732/427 PS SBH.
24. Edward G. Trueblood, *Memoirs.* Unpublished manuscript, pp. 7–9, 15–17, 21–23; copy in CU/H; Smith, *op. cit.*, pp. 96–97.
25. Klein, *op. cit.*, p. 475.
26. "The Department of State's Program of Assistance to Cultural Centers," OEX/S Doc. 25, Dec. 16, 1948, prepared by the Division of Libraries and Institutes, Office of Educational Exchange, Dept. of State, for the U.S. Advisory Commission on Educational Exchange, CU/H.
27. "A Summary of the Program of the Department of State for Cultural Cooperation with the Other American Republics," Feb. 1945 (typed memoranda, CU/H), pp. 9–10; *Report of the Division of Cultural Relations*, June, 1943, app. A, pp. 9–12; Smith, *op. cit.*, pp. 73–91, 112–131; and Scott, *op. cit., passim*, on the Benjamin Franklin Library, and the English teaching program in Mexico; *The Record* (Jan. 1947), p. 34.
28. Memorandum, Chapin to Welles, July 7, 1938, Dept. of State, NA, RG 353, SCC, Box 2; memorandum, Long to Welles, Duggan, and Cherrington, Dept. of State, Oct. 28, 1938, *ibid.*
29. "Certain Educational Projects under Consideration by the Office of the Coordinator," Oct. 29, 1940, Division of Cultural Relations, Dept. of State, NA, RG 353, SCC, Box 3.
30. Desp. 2463, American Legation, Costa Rica, to the Dept., Aug. 20, 1940, NA, RG 59, 11.46/312; copy in CU/H.
31. Andrew V. Corry, *Memoir Proposing American-Sponsored School Program, 1942–1943.* Report submitted to the Dept. of State, Sept. 22, 1942, CU/H.
32. Lawson, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, ch. 4, pp. 140–150.
33. Policy statement, Mar. 16, 1944, in *Report of Science, Education, and Art Division*, Mar. and Apr., 1944, pp. 14–16.
34. *House Hearings, Department of State Appropriation Bill for 1944* [hereinafter cited as *House Hearings (year)*] (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1943), p. 340.
35. In the late 1950's the availability of large amounts of foreign currency under Public Law 480 made possible large short-term contributions to

the schools in several Latin American countries, notably Colombia (memorandum prepared by J. Manuel Espinosa, "American-Sponsored Bi-national Community Schools in Latin America Assisted by the U.S. Department of State," International Educational Exchange Service, Dept. of State, 1957), pp. 1, 15, CU/H. Former Minister to Costa Rica, Roy Tasco Davis, served as director of the Inter-American Schools Service from its origin until Sept. 1953.

6. *Ibid.*, pp. 2–3; memorandum prepared by J. Manuel Espinosa, June 13, 1968, Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs, Dept. of State, CU/H.

By the late 1950's, 33 of the schools that qualified as binational, nonprofit, nondenominational, community-type schools received financial grants administered and disbursed by the Schools Service. By the early 1970's the number was slightly over 40. In 1962 the administration of the program was transferred from the Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs (CU) to another part of the Dept., the Bureau of Administration, Office of Overseas Schools.

By the early 1970's CU's annual contribution for the schools in Latin America averaged approximately $600,000 to support the binational, intercultural contributions being made by the schools, matched by more substantial amounts, averaging about a million dollars a year, from the Agency for International Development (AID) aimed at strengthening the quality of the schools to meet the needs of the children of overseas Americans. In addition, AID came to provide large amounts, in millions of dollars, for construction and development, in support of American universities and colleges overseas, including the University of the Americas in Mexico City, and in smaller amounts to two more recently established national colleges in Guatemala modeled on U.S. educational principles. (*House Hearings, 1974*, pt. 2, pp. 837, 841–843; Leonard H. Brody, *A Study of American-Sponsored U.S. Government Supported Universities in Mexico and Guatemala.* Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, George Washington University, Washington, D.C., 1973).

CHAPTER XIII

The Program Across the U.S.

FROM THE BEGINNING, the Department-sponsored cultural relations program was a Government-private effort, wholly dependent on the cooperation of private U.S. individuals, educational institutions, and professional, business, and community organizations. These relationships exemplified the basic concept on which the program was built. In the 1940's there were several notable pioneering developments across the United States which, encouraged by the Department, led the enterprise.

One of these developments was the enlistment by the Department of community cooperation throughout the country to arrange professional programs and hospitality for visiting Latin American leaders and specialists, both under Government and private auspices. Another was the encouragement given to universities and colleges to develop more systematic programs for student counseling, orientation and related services, including special English language training, and arrangements for local community hospitality and wider exposure to the U.S. scene for Latin American students. Another was greater attention to academic standards and flexible programs for the academic training of college and university study grantees. These included special summer and practical training and field experience and conferences of college and university representatives, fellowship donors, and community leaders encouraged by the Department to foster a greater exchange of experiences and to discuss common problems. Another was the strengthening and expansion of Spanish and Portuguese language courses and Latin American studies in other disciplines and the strengthening and establishment of Latin American studies centers and summer institutes at U.S. universities and colleges with encouragement and funding from the U.S. Government.

Hospitality to foreign visitors on an individual basis, as a civic event, or on a national scale in welcoming a distinguished visitor at various levels of protocol represented nothing new in U.S. experience when the Department of State initiated its officially sponsored exchange-of-persons program. But prior to 1938 it was *ad hoc* and spontaneous, except for special occasions, as isolated situations presented themselves.

About a dozen private organizations had been established in a few major centers with one of their avowed purposes being to assist and arrange local hospitality for distinguished foreign leaders and foreign students. The pioneer in this field was the Committee on Friendly Relations Among Foreign Students founded in New York City in 1911. It was established by the YMCA to assist foreign students who were met at ports of entry, to provide personal contacts in homes and at universities and colleges, and to help in other ways. The International House in Berkeley, California, founded in 1928 with a gift of $1,800,000 from the Rockefeller Foundation, and the one in Chicago, founded in 1932 with funds from the same source, provided housing for foreign students and developed as one of their activities the arrangement of social events for distinguished visitors, professors, and students from Latin America. Other organizations had been established specifically to provide hospitality for Latin American visitors. For example, the Pan American Society Inc., founded in New York City in 1912, had as one of its purposes "to show hospitality and attention to representative men of the other republics of America who visit the United States." The Pan American Student Forum in Dallas, Texas, and the American-Brazilian Association in New York, both founded in 1927, provided similar hospitality services for Latin American visitors. The Pan American Women's Association, founded in New York City in 1930, and the Pan American League, founded in Miami, Florida, in 1931, were also active in this same type of work at these two principal ports of entry for Latin American visitors. During the years prior to the establishment of the U.S. Government reception center in Miami in 1941, the Pan American League rendered valuable service to the Department in assisting important visitors arriving there.[1]

After the Division of Cultural Relations was established, the Department for the first time was able to give special attention to distinguished Latin American visitors recommended by the U.S. missions below the level of the top officials normally handled by the Office of Protocol, as well as to U.S. citizens visiting Latin America for educational and cultural activities that the Division was interested in encouraging. Prior to the fall and winter of 1940 no visitors had yet arrived as recipients of grants under the program. During that period special arrangements were made at the New York and San Francisco Fairs to provide professional and specialized contacts for distinguished intellectual and cultural leaders from Latin America.

At the request of the Division, this responsibility was assumed in New York by the Advisory Committee on Women's Participation, which set up panels of hosts and hostesses, and in San Francisco, by the Hospitality Committee of Pacific House. Advance notice and other information regarding such visitors was obtained from U.S. diplomatic missions and a large number of distinguished visitors from Latin America received special attention as a result. Similar arrangements were made for those who attended the Coronado Cuarto-Centennial celebration in New Mexico in 1940.[2]

With the initiation of the officially sponsored exchange programs, a concerted effort was made to enlist more volunteer cooperation nationwide on the part of universities, schools, and the many Latin American centers inspired by the Good Neighbor Policy that had sprung up across the country. As recommended by the Division of Cultural Relations of the Department, the Coordinator's Office took the first systematic steps in 1941. The Department continued the work as a major activity when the Coordinator's Office was abolished after the war. In January 1941 the Coordinator's Office established a "Hospitality Department," a small unit to handle the reception and entertainment of prominent Latin American visitors connected with its programs. In April, appealing especially to women's groups to take the lead, the Coordinator's Office issued a press release which stated: "It would be most helpful to have concerted action among women's and other organizations to provide suitable hospitality for visitors and to establish direct and friendly contacts with similar organizations in the other American republics."[3] A reception and hospitality center was founded by the Coordinator's Office in New York City at Inter-America House, with Mrs. William A. Barber as chairman, and by the end of June 1941 the Hospitality Committee had 520 volunteer members. It provided hospitality and services for U.S. Government grantees and many others recommended by U.S. diplomatic posts in Latin America.[4] In Washington, D.C., the Department was able to turn to Mrs. Truxton Beale, Decatur House, for all manner of effective hospitality services on a volunteer basis.[5]

The General Advisory Committee of the Division of Cultural Relations took a serious interest early in 1941 in the need throughout the country for more systematic hospitality arrangements for Latin American visitors. As more and more local Pan American councils asked the Department how they could be more effectively related to the Government's programs, it became evident that the need was nationwide in scope. Although the Government had been largely responsible for encouraging their creation, it would have been detrimental to the whole inter-American cultural relations program had such agencies continued to spring up all over the country and to operate in the absence of some effective method interrelating their activities. Steps were taken by the Division to encourage these local groups throughout the country to exchange ideas and experiences and to facilitate this by supplying useful information through correspondence. The question was raised, but not pursued, as to whether the Division should encourage the formation of a national "Federation" to which local groups might become affiliated. It was agreed that no official recognition should be given to these groups, but that their private, volunteer character should be encouraged.[6] The question was raised as to whether the handling of officially sponsored visitors should be decentralized by the Division, turning to local groups for a large part of the details of entertainment and arrangement of itineraries. The Division took the position that certain official courtesies would be more effectively handled by an official agency. Consequently, it decided that the administration of these services should continue to be centralized in the Department, which should enlist cooperation to the fullest extent from the various private local groups and committees throughout the country.

Some of these private groups were giving such valuable voluntary support to the program that it was suggested that "it is not fair to send them people and ask them to cooperate without some financial assistance." It was agreed that the Coordinator's Office should provide financial support in especially deserving cases. The principal local Latin American centers of this type, in addition to the New York Hospitality Committee of the Coordinator's Office at Inter-America House in New York, were the Pan American Society of Boston; the Pan American Council of Chicago; Pacific House, San Francisco; the Pan American Association of Philadelphia; the Rocky Mountain Regional Cooperative Council, Denver; the Pan American League, Miami; and the Pan American Society of New York.[7]

At the same time, the General Advisory Committee explored other means for enriching the experience of Latin American visitors, such as the appeal to universities and colleges to establish community hospitality for Latin American students, and to professional organizations to keep the Department posted on annual professional meetings to enable the Department to arrange for attendance by interested Latin American leaders during their visits.[8] Some of the local councils demonstrated remarkable community initiative and set patterns of activity which were models for others that were to continue over the years as important channels for building a broader international outlook and understanding in local communities throughout the United States. An example was the Rocky Mountain Regional Cooperative Council in Denver. Ben Cherrington, who had been the first Chief of the Division of Cultural Relations, was the director. The Council in Denver functioned as a federation, including chambers of commerce, business firms, colleges, schools, museums, labor unions, and a variety of community and civic groups. The Denver Public Library was the hub of the Council where lectures, conferences, exhibits, film presentations, and similar activities were arranged. The volunteer reception and hospitality services of the Council served not only Denver, but cities in the surrounding area.[9]

By 1942 the Coordinator's Office had established Hospitality and Reception Centers at Miami and New York City, both of which played a yeoman's role under the joint direction of the Coordinator's Office and the Department in providing services for officially sponsored visitors at these two principal ports of entry. They maintained close cooperation with Army and Navy representatives, customs officials, and other Government officials in these cities. Representatives of these offices met the visitors on arrival, assisted them in their onward travel arrangements, provided volunteer interpreters and guides, and assisted in local appointments and hospitality. They also kept Washington headquarters of the Coordinator's Office and the Department informed daily of arrivals for suitable news coverage. The New York office was equipped to plan itineraries in New York City and the surrounding area. Both offices arranged official entertainment for prominent visitors when requested from Washington. Shortly thereafter similar centers were established in New Orleans and San Francisco.

During the 1944 and 1945 fiscal years the expenses for these centers were borne jointly by the Coordinator's Office and the Department. For Government use and circulation to various inter-American centers, universities, and other interested organizations throughout the country, the Coordinator's Office issued a weekly "Register of Visitors," with data on all individuals of prominence arriving from Latin America. Administration of the centers was transferred to the Department of State in 1946.[10]

No systematic attempt was made by the Department to coordinate the cooperative efforts of the many local community councils throughout the country in support of the Government's exchange programs. The arrangements for the itineraries and program activities of visiting leader and specialist grantees were administered from Washington by officers of the Division of Cultural Relations through their contacts in the more active local councils, universities, professional organizations, and other groups and institutions. The Department officers involved visited from time to time the individuals and groups that were cooperating in this work throughout the country to discuss mutual interests. When the time came to arrange the itinerary and program contacts for a distinguished visitor, the arrangements were worked out informally, largely through these established personal contacts, by phone or correspondence depending on the time available. This was essentially the way itineraries and programs were arranged for visiting leader grantees throughout the 1940's.

In the early years most of the grantees traveled to the United States by ship. The leader grantees arriving in New York were usually met by an officer of the Division. Normally they were escorted at once by train to Washington, but in some cases they remained a day or two in New York as the occasion warranted. Local arrangements in New York were coordinated in advance and during the stay by the Hospitality and Reception Center there. On arrival in Washington the distinguished visitor was usually lodged at the old Cosmos Club on Lafayette Square where an official luncheon was tendered during the course of the Washington stay. This was customarily reciprocated by a dinner or reception given by the Ambassador of the country the grantee represented. In the later 1940's visiting leader grantees were lodged at small hotels near "Old State," or at Blair House, on Pennsylvania Avenue, across the street, where a luncheon or reception was usually held for them. Chauffeured Department cars were always available for local appointments. A Division officer frequently accompanied the visitor. An appointment with President Roosevelt for groups of visitors, or with Vice President Wallace, Secretary Hull, Under Secretary Welles, Assistant Secretaries and Cabinet officers or their like was not unusual in these early years. During the Roosevelt and Truman administrations arrangements were made for leading journalists, especially, to attend the President's press conferences. The entire hospitality operation was centered in the Division and was carried out by a handful of officers in the Division.[11]

The role of the Department in improving the quality of the educational and cultural experiences of foreign university and college students in the United States under its auspices was more extensive. These students were almost exclusively from the Latin American countries up until the late 1940's, with the exception of the large umber of stranded Chinese students who posed special problems uring the war in China. Attention to the special needs of the for- ign student had a long history, as we have seen. When the Depart- ent initiated its officially sponsored student exchange program it as able to build on this accumulation of experience.

The great increase in the number of foreign students in the late 940's demanded a much larger effort by everyone concerned. In 1939– there were an estimated 6,670 foreign students enrolled in U.S. col- ges and universities; at the end of the war, in 1945–46, the total was ,341; and with the great influx from all parts of the world after the ar, by 1948–49 the total was over 26,500. Between 1939–40 and 1948– , Latin American students increased from 1,023 to 5,820.[12] This in- ease occurred during the period in which the U.S. Government was fering scholarship aid for Latin American students. The Govern- ent grants proved to be the "spark" that made it possible to "com- ete the circuit," matching partial university scholarships and other ntributing funds which otherwise would have gone begging.[13]

This notable increase in the number of Latin American students the United States had begun in the late 1920's, following a decade which the level was more or less static. In 1927, the Institute of ternational Education translated into Spanish its guide for foreign dents in the United States, first issued in English in 1921 by the mmittee on Friendly Relations Among Foreign Students, and bsequently by the Institute. In 1930 the Institute published in anish a guide to fellowship opportunities in the United States, d in 1941 published a revised edition of its 1927 guide.

The value of a meeting of those working with foreign students s an early concern of Dr. Edgar J. Fisher, Vice President of the titute of International Education, and was discussed at the na- nal conference called by the Division of Cultural Relations in 9, described earlier. The idea was pursued by the Division's Gen- l Advisory Committee and came to fruition with the Conference Foreign Student Advisers held in Cleveland, Ohio, in the spring 1942, held under the auspices of the Institute of International ucation with the cooperation of the Department of State, the rdinator's Office, and the U.S. Office of Education.[14] The idea to d a national conference at this time came from the Committee Adjustment of Foreign Students, one of the public working com- tees of the General Advisory Committee.[15] Although most of the ics discussed at the conference had been identified and discussed many occasions within a limited circle of experts close to the subject, none of them had received the degree of wide public scrutiny and attention they required. This was the first time that a large group of the best qualified persons throughout the country met for the sole purpose of discussing foreign students. Some 120 representatives from universities, colleges, educational agencies, and Government agencies attended.

The primary objectives of the conference were to help solve the immediate problems that had been thrust upon foreign students by the sudden entry of the United States into the war, and to consider methods by which these students could directly relate their training in the United States to the urgent tasks awaiting attention in their home countries. Thus the main emphasis was on such problems as transportation, selective service regulations, the evacuation of Japanese-American students from the West Coast, and the need for funds to provide work opportunities for stranded students. Because of the particular interest in the increasing number of Latin American students special problems relating to these students were stressed. Apart from the matters of emergency, a wide range of basic long-term matters was discussed: selection criteria, the problem of English for foreign students, work opportunities in industry, student counseling and guidance, race prejudice, orientation and adjustment, attention to the many Latin American students in the United States on their own and under no sponsorship other than the host university, evaluation of credentials, community hospitality and housing. Also of prime importance were considerations of selection machinery and predeparture English language and orientation opportunities in Latin America, follow-up with alumni, the financial costs to universities with large numbers of foreign students, and the responsibilities of colleges and universities to improve their administrative organization for the handling of foreign student activities so that they would be keyed into all the activities of the institution. The conference demonstrated that professional skills in this field were already developing, and the reader interested in the history of these developments will find the detailed report of the conference both informative and instructive. The results of the conference demonstrated the value of such national meetings. The conference recommended that every campus hosting foreign students should appoint a special foreign student adviser as an integral part of the administrative staff of the institution.[16] The conference was the first of a series of periodic conferences under the same auspices that resulted in the establishment of a national association of foreign student advisers, agreed to at the conference of 1948, the body now known as the National Association for Foreign Student Affairs (NAFSA).[17]

Between the time of the 1942 conference and the next one of similar magnitude in 1946, there was notable progress in many of the foreign student activities dealt with at the earlier conference, with the Department's cultural office continuing to play a central leadership role as a catalyst in encouraging and supporting the efforts and needs of this growing private enterprise. At the time of the 1942 conference there were about 100 foreign student advisers on university and college campuses. By the end of 1944 there were over 300.[18] Special conferences were called periodically, encouraged by the Department with the collaboration of the Coordinator's Office and the Office of Education, to discuss scholarships and fellowships, problems of students from war-torn countries, problems of stranded Chinese students, English teaching programs for foreign students, and other related problems.[19]

A continuing problem was the English language proficiency of Latin American students. It was generally agreed that the special attention being given to this need by cultural institutes in Latin America should be strongly encouraged and that U.S. colleges and universities should give major attention to providing special programs for their foreign students who needed such preparation for their work.[20] To promote these efforts the Coordinator's Office gave financial support to the University of Michigan in its pioneer work in this field and the Office of Education cooperated in bringing English teachers from Latin America for training at U.S. universities.

In 1942 the Department and the Coordinator's Office supported the establishment of special classes in English for Latin American students at the Webster Americanization School in Washington.[21] This school was originally established for the teaching of English to European immigrants. In addition to the special language instruction for Latin American students, programs were added to provide lectures on American life and institutions, and for social and recreational activities. It came to be known as the Washington Orientation Center. On July 1, 1944, the Coordinator transferred to the Department of State responsibility for the intensive English teaching program at the Center. Most students spent 30 to 60 days at the school, where they received language instruction approximately half of the day and lectures on the United States during the remainder of the day. In 1946 it operated at the Wilson Teachers College through a grant-in-aid to the National Education Association (NEA) and was known as "The Orientation Center for Foreign Students and Trainees." It was administered by the Department, the U.S. Office of Education, the NEA, and the Board of Education of the District of Columbia. It was open to qualified applicants from any country, admitted with the approval of the Department's cultural office. By late 1946 hundreds of Government grantees had passed through its doors.[22]

Meanwhile, orientation centers had been established at various universities for their own students, notably at the Universities of California, Michigan, and Texas. Bucknell University, Wellesley College, Louisiana State University, and Mills College, supported by modest grants from the Coordinator's Office and the Department, operated other intensive summer orientation centers for an approximate 2-month duration on a regional basis, after which the students scattered to go to different institutions. In subsequent years a number of other such centers were established to meet this need.[23]

To improve the exchange of information on Latin American student activities throughout the United States, a Clearing House on Student Interchange and a Counsel and Guidance Center were established in Washington, D.C., as branches of the Institute of International Education with funds from the Coordinator's Office and subsequently from the Department. By the mid-1940's a grant-in-aid was made annually to the Institute of International Education to provide a revolving loan and grant fund administered through these entities. These grants were available to both scholarship and nonscholarship students and were awarded to enable them to supplement their academic studies with practical field work.[24] Officers of the Division made more frequent visits to universities to encourage and strengthen all of these efforts designed to improve the quality and experience of the foreign student.[25] By the time the war drew to a close a solid basis for more efficiently organized university, college, and Government coordination had been established to cope with the postwar influx of students—foreign students from all parts of the world, facilitated by the lifting of travel restrictions in 1945–46,[26] augmented by returning U.S. GI's. Over a million U.S. war veterans entered U.S. universities under the GI Bill of Rights, along with thousands of foreign students whose enrollment was made possible through the generous policies of the universities.

As early as 1944 plans were discussed in the Department for another nationwide meeting of university officials similar to the conference of 1942. At the request of the Department the Institute of International Education took the leadership in calling a national conference of college and university administrators and foreign student advisers held in Chicago from April 29 to May 1, 1946. It was attended by 122 officials representing 95 universities and colleges; 53 representatives of private organizations and agencies; 7 representatives of other governments; and 9 U.S. Government representatives. The continuing and long-range problems concerning foreign students remained essentially those that had been thoroughly discussed at the 1942 meeting. Although action on these problems had been taken to the extent that it was feasible, the new element in this conference was the realization that many of the problems discussed earlier needed to be reconsidered in relation to the reopening of large-scale foreign and U.S. student exchanges on a worldwide basis. It was another giant step toward more effective exchange of experience and coordination of effort among those "on the front line" in the conduct of international student exchanges in the United States. At its closing session the conference passed a resolution endorsing the policies and programs of the Department of State's educational and cultural relations program. Another resolution recommended the need for the establishment of a permanent student advisers' organization which, as indicated earlier, was effected 2 years later.[27]

Among other inter-American activities that flowered in the United States during the 1940's were those of the major professional organizations. The national conference called by the Division of Cultural Relations in 1939, and its continuing committees, inspired this movement. Especially active were the national professional organizations in the fields of medicine, dentistry, public health, engineering, law, library sciences, and education. A number of these organizations established Latin American subcommittees, and some were instrumental in the developing of new inter-American professional organizations, in addition to those that had been established and encouraged over the years by the specialized sections of the Pan American Union. Among the activities of the private professional organizations was the nationwide coordination of hospitality extended to colleagues in their fields of specialization and arrangements for their attendance and participation in annual meetings of their organizations. It was a two-way interchange in which other representatives of these organizations participated in professional conferences in Latin American countries, sent literature and equipment, and added new strands to the network of personal contacts and relationships of colleagues and institutions here and in Latin America in specialized fields of mutual interest. The Department continually encouraged these activities in the 1940's through close consultation with its own working advisory committees in these fields, grants to individuals to facilitate conference attendance and lecture visits, and transfer of funds to professional organizations to enable them to carry out inter-American projects.[28]

Although Portuguese language instruction still lagged far behind during the war years, there was a notable increase in the teaching of Spanish and Latin American studies in general at universities, colleges, and schools throughout the country. This trend was encouraged by modest Government financial support which had a multiplier effect. Since other areas were largely closed off from normal channels of communication and offered little competition, the spotlight was on Latin America. Many of the summer schools organized for language teachers at U.S. colleges and universities and held in various nearby Latin American countries became a permanent feature of U.S. university and college life. Some of these were launched with financial assistance from the Department through contractual arrangements with the U.S. institutions. Unfortunately this trend did not continue at the same pace after the war, and indeed declined as the spotlight turned to other areas of the world. Nonetheless, Latin American fields of study, including languages, were now an established part of the U.S. educational curriculum, and serious ground-breaking research and scholarship in a number of disciplines based on Latin American sources of data and information were no longer limited to a handful of graduate schools.

Beyond the academic scene, among ordinary people interest in studying Spanish reached unheard-of proportions. For example, in her newspaper column "My Day," Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt urged that Spanish be made the second language taught in the nation's schools. Further, with funds provided by the Coordinator's Office, the Washington Inter-American Training Center was established, under a contract with the American Council of Learned Societies, "to provide intensive training for Army and Navy officers and other government personnel being sent to Latin America on official missions." The courses were completed in 64 class hours. During its 2-year existence, 1942–44, the Center provided training in Spanish and Portuguese and in Latin American civilization and affairs for 10,000 Government employees. A massive amount of teaching material was published with emphasis on the conversational approach. As in the case of the many university and high school Spanish textbooks published each year, the subject matter of the study lessons for accelerated Spanish courses was always built around Spanish American backgrounds.

Members of civic organizations, women's clubs, study groups, and the like were all studying Spanish. In 1942, for example, an officer of the Ohio Federation of Women's Clubs, in a radio talk in Columbus, urged all members of the organization to take the Spanish course broadcast by the radio station. In appealing to her fellow clubwomen she said,

> "The hour of the broadcast of the class—one o'clock in the afternoon—was selected especially for the convenience of the several thousand members of the Federation of Women's Clubs

> in the counties of Central Ohio. With the class coming at that time we can listen to the broadcast before we go to afternoon club meetings or we can go earlier than usual and all listen together, before time for the regular club meeting. I think you will find it helpful for the ones who are taking it in each club to listen together once a week, then have time after that for discussion."

In 1943, a newspaperman with long experience in Latin America, James I. Miller, Vice President of the United Press Associations, stated on his return to the United States,

> "I am particularly pleased, on this visit home, to observe a remarkable quickened interest in Latin America. Everywhere I go people who a few years ago had no interest in our neighbors to the south, now are hungry for information . . . What strikes me most forcibly, coming back home, is the feeling manifest everywhere that South America has just been discovered . . . Here I am, after devoting many happy years among peoples as highly cultured, and as alive politically, as any in the world, suddenly besieged by North Americans as excited as Queen Isabella on the return of Columbus."

The peak period of this popular enthusiasm for studying Spanish and learning more about the Latin American countries was the first half of the 1940's.[29]

Notes

CHAPTER XIII

1. *Preliminary Survey of Inter-American Cultural Activities in the United States* (Washington, D.C.: Dept. of State, Sept. 25, 1939), pp. 22, 24, 25, 28, 30, 45, 48, copies in NA, RG 353, SCC, Box 2, and CU/H; William H. Dennis, "Counseling and Guidance for the Foreign Student," Dept. of State, publ. 2097 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1944), p. 3.
2. *Progress Report of the Division of Cultural Relations, June 1940*, Dept. of State, Washington, D.C., p. 78, CU/H; memoranda, Duggan to Welles, July 7 and 11, 1939, NA, RG 353, SCC, Box 2.
3. Donald W. Rowland, *History of the Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1947), pp. 98, 105–106.
4. IIE/H, Microfilm Roll 12, Side 1, No. 6.
5. Memoranda and correspondence, July 26 and 28, and Aug. 4, 1941, NA, RG 59, 811.42735 SE/245 1/2 PS/DM.
6. "Minutes of the General Advisory Committee," Feb. 27, 1941, p. 17, NA, RG 353, SCC, Boxes 1 and 29.

7. *Ibid.*, May 9, 1941, and Sept. 17, 1941. For a list of these and others performing hospitality services in the mid-1940's see "Inter-American Centers in the U.S.," *The Record* (Apr.–May 1945), pp. 10–12. See, also, *Guide to the Inter-American Cultural Programs of Non-Government Agencies in the United States* (Washington, D.C.: Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs, 1943). Copy in the Dept. of State Library.
8. "Minutes of the General Advisory Committee," June 19 and Nov. 6, 1941, *op. cit.*
9. *Ibid.*, Sept. 17, 1941.
10. Rowland, *op. cit.*, pp. 107–109; Marian T. Christie, "Reception Centers Aid Official Visitors," *The Record*, I (Sept. 1945), pp. 12–16; Walter M. Walters, "Miami Reception Center," *The Record*, III (Mar. 1947), pp. 9–13; *House Hearings, Department of State Appropriation Bill for 1946* [hereinafter cited as *House Hearings (year)*] (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1945), p. 256. The Reception Center in Miami was established on Aug. 5, 1942; Rowland, *op. cit.*, p. 190.
11. Detailed information on the points touched on in this paragraph may be found in the monthly and bimonthly reports of the Dept.'s cultural exchange office, listed in ch. VIII, note 9 above.
12. *Institute of International Education, Thirtieth Annual Report of the Director* (New York: Oct. 1, 1949), pp. 131–133.
13. Letter from Stephen Duggan to Haldore Hanson, Jan. 10, 1944, CU/H.
14. Report of the Conference of Foreign Student Advisers, Cleveland, Ohio, Apr. 28–30, 1942, (New York: Institute of International Education, 1942).
15. *Ibid.*, p. 4. This committee had been established in 1941.
16. *Ibid.*, p. iii.
17. *Conference on International Student Exchanges*, Ann Arbor, Mich., May 10–12, 1948 (New York: Institute of International Education, 1948).
18. "Minutes of the Meeting of the Advisory Committee on the Adjustment of Foreign Students in the United States," Dec. 14–15, 1944, p. 5, CU/H.
19. For example: "Report on the Conference on Scholarships and Fellowships," Oct. 9, 1942, Washington, D.C., sponsored by the Coordinator's Office; "Conference on Providing Educational Opportunities for Students from the War-Torn Countries," Philadelphia, Feb. 28–29, 1944, *Report of Science, Education and Art Division*, Feb. 1944, pp. 2, 10; conference of the nine universities with the largest number of students from Chinese universities, held in Chicago at the invitation of the Dept., July 29–30, 1944, *Monthly Report of the Division of Cultural Cooperation*, July–Aug. 1944, p. 17.
20. "Minutes of the Advisory Committee on the Adjustment of Foreign Students," Dec. 14–15, 1944, *op. cit.*, pp. 6–7, and attached resolutions. In response to requests from U.S. universities and colleges, in 1946 the Dept. made a grant-in-aid of $8,000 to the College Entrance Examination Board, which provided an additional $4,000, to establish a standard examination which such institutions could give students from abroad to determine their proficiency in English. *The Record*, II (Sept. 1946), p. 25.
21. "Minutes of the Advisory Committee on the Adjustment of Foreign Students," Dec. 14–15, 1944, *op. cit.*, p. 71.
22. *Ibid.*, p. 7; articles in *The Record*, II (June, Aug. and Dec. 1946), pp. 33–35, 18–19, 32–33, and *ibid.*, IV (July–Aug. 1948), pp. 10–17, CU/H.
23. *The Record*, II (Dec. 1946), p. 32; *House Hearings, 1946*, p. 256.

24. *Report of the Division of Cultural Relations*, Aug. 1943, p. 1, and *Report of Science, Education and Art Division*, Mar. and Apr. 1944, p. 8; "Statement of the Functions of the Counseling Office," Institute of International Education, 1947, CU/H.
25. Beginning in 1943, the Dept. provided grants to enable outstanding Latin American graduate students to spend up to 3 months visiting various centers in the United States for professional observation. Also, funds were provided to the Institute of International Education to arrange for professional associations to invite graduate students to attend their annual meetings. *Report of the Division of Cultural Cooperation*, July–Aug. 1944, p. 7.
26. *Department of State Bulletin*, XIII (Oct. 28, 1945), p. 701; *News Bulletin*, Institute of International Education, XXII (Oct. 1, 1946), p. 8.
27. *Report of the Conference of College and University Administrators and Foreign Student Advisers*, Chicago, Ill., Apr. 29–30, May 1, 1946 (New York: Institute of International Education, 1946), pp. 149–151, 154.
28. Highlights of the developments summarized in this paragraph and the following may be found in the monthly and bimonthly reports of the Division of Cultural Relations, the Division of Science, Education and Art, and the Division of Cultural Cooperation, for the period 1941–44.
29. Henry Grattan Doyle, "The Modern Foreign Languages: A Chronicle of Achievement," *The Modern Language Journal*, XL (Oct. 1956), p. 281; *Hispania*, XXVI (Feb. 1943), pp. 72, 78–81.

Grantees and Their Activities

CHAPTER XIV

Latin American Grantees

In an address before the Pan American Society of Massachusetts at Cambridge, on April 14, 1941, entitled "The Human Factor in Inter-American Relations," Charles Thomson, Chief of the Division of Cultural Relations, stated, "In the development of understanding between nations, persons are the primary medium of exchange." [1] This was of course the heart of the U.S. Government's cultural relations program from the beginning. The roles played by the grantees can best be described within the framework of the two major groups involved, those coming to the United States, and those going to Latin America: the distinguished leaders from Latin American countries; the U.S. leaders who visited the countries to the south; and under the academic program the professors, language teachers, and graduate students to and from the United States. The State Department's exchange-of-persons program in the 1940's witnessed a remarkable degree of success. After Pearl Harbor, the American nations were drawn closer together with a common goal for survival and buoyed by the atmosphere of confidence that characterized the U.S. effort.

The purpose in bringing and sending distinguished leaders to and from the United States on short-term visits of observation and consultation with colleagues was stated as follows in a memorandum of January 1942:

> "One of the immediate objectives of the program is to acquaint distinguished visitors from the United States to the other American Republics and from the other American Republics to the United States with the cultural and artistic life of the country visited, so that upon their return they will exert a definite influence on public opinion. This is particularly valuable in the case of distinguished visitors from the other American Republics who are held in high regard by their fellow citizens and who are in a position, either through their official positions or otherwise, to influence public sentiment towards a better appreciation of North American culture, life, and government." [2]

The first leader grantees from Latin American countries who visited the United States under the Department's program in the early 1940's represented virtually all fields of intellectual leadership. Although they were described as "cultural, intellectual, and artistic" leaders, the terms were broadly used, as they included creative writers, artists, musicians, humanists, social scientists, librarians and archivists, architects, engineers, economists, historians, journalists, publishers, lawyers, doctors, anthropologists, scientists, educators, government officials, and political leaders.

During the war years and the late 1940's, a larger percentage of the grantees were in leadership positions in fields of immediate concern in the task of harnessing the economic resources of the hemisphere: the sciences, medicine, dentistry, public health, education, agriculture, public welfare, law, labor, industry. In the middle and late 1940's, with this shift in emphasis, the Department referred to these distinguished visitors as "specialists" or "intellectual and technical leaders." Grants for some of those in technical fields were for approximately 6 months to permit extended study and field work, instead of the usual 2- to 3 month visit.

The Department grants were a part of the coordinated program of the Interdepartmental Committee on Scientific and Cultural Cooperation, which included the substantial and significant technical cooperation program under which U.S. Government agencies sent Government experts to serve as consultants to other governments in technical fields. The basic mission of the Department's exchange-of-persons program was the cultivation of two-way intellectual understanding; that of the other U.S. Government agencies, including the Coordinator's program, to provide technical knowledge and training in cooperation with other governments. In many ways they complemented each other.[3]

Typical of the Latin American scene, most of the leaders and future leaders in public life came from the privileged few who attended the universities and later pursued the major professions—the ladder to public office at all levels. They represented the intellectual leaders and molders of public opinion in their countries. Because of their broad intellectual interests, those who were political leaders, for example, were not identified solely or primarily as such, but rather, as "government official and man of letters," "member of the House of Deputies and journalist," "member of Parliament and poet," more correct definitions of their background and interests. Therefore it was not unusual that they left more accurate knowledge and a better image of their own countries with the many individuals and groups with whom they came in contact in the United States, and established lasting personal relationships with colleagues in many fields of common interest.

The 40 grantees who visited the United States during the first year of this part of the program, from December 1940 to January 1942, exemplify this aspect of the program. Most of them represented a combination of several fields in which they had gained prominence in their own countries. Sixteen were widely read literary figures and journalists, 7 were Cabinet ministers or top ministry officials, 5 were university rectors (one of whom was a dean appointed rector of his university upon his return), 3 were members of Parliament, 7 held top government positions as directors of national councils or cultural agencies, 16 were university deans or professors distinguished in their professions and disciplines, 7 were leading national figures in art and music, 6 were prominent lawyers, and 9 were among the leading historians of their countries. The basic pattern was the same throughout the 1940's.[4]

Since the programs and itineraries for the leaders were arranged in Washington by officers of the Department's cultural staff who were fluent in Spanish, Portuguese, and French, the visitors nearly always got off to a good start, regardless of any English language handicap. In other parts of the country, where interpreters were needed, there was no lack of volunteers from university and college language faculties and others who spoke the languages of the visitors among the increasing number of contacts the program activated. These and the many hundreds of other volunteers throughout the country who assumed responsibility for the day-to-day scheduling and hospitality arrangements helped make possible the program successes achieved.

The vast majority of the leader grantees returned to their countries with impressions that reflected deeper cultural understanding, a reaction of friendly and sympathetic appreciation of common problems, and in net result greater prospects for cooperative pursuit of common aspirations in the framework of their different heritages and resources. Some remained critical of certain U.S. traits of character, among which they identified as innate North American insensitivity and a condescending superiority complex toward Latin Americans. But even the most critical learned through firsthand experience that many of the people in the United States did not conform to all of the stereotypes that they had accumulated over the years and which all too often were exhibited by some U.S. overseas representatives of private business, industry, and commerce, and insensitive "do-gooders" on vacation tours.[5]

The most prolific and widely read writers about their U.S. experiences were, as to be expected, the authors, historians, and journalists. The first, and one of the most perceptive commentators on the U.S. scene and "Yankee characteristics," was the Brazilian novelist and critic Erico Verissimo, then one of the leading younger writers in his country, and now one of the deans of Brazilian and Latin American literature. At the time of his first grant in 1941 he was literary director of the Livraria do Globo, in Rio, one of the largest publishing houses in South America, and vice president of the Brazilian-North American Cultural Institute in Porto Alegre. In the United States he visited universities, museums, factories, large cities and small towns from coast to coast, and spoke to people at all levels of society. His visits with intellectual leaders included a 3-hour discussion with H. L. Mencken. He gave many public speeches in the United States and later in Brazil. After his return to Brazil he wrote of his experiences in the United States in a widely read book published in 1941 which was soon in its 10th printing.[6]

One of the traditional clichés that was deeply engraved in the minds of nearly all Latin American visitors was that the United States was a materialistic nation devoid of culture. Verissimo wrote that it was "an error to think that the United States are a people who do not have an art and literature of real importance."[7] He found both general curiosity and great ignorance about Latin America. At Nashville he was asked "Is Brazil a British possession?" Also he had to explain on at least one occasion that Brazil is located in South America. He was impressed with the sheer power of the United States industrial machine and the calm discipline of the people who everywhere were busily but quietly engaged in building the greatest arsenal for the defense of democracy the world had ever seen. He was impressed by both the contrasts in U.S. society, and the basic forces of national unity. He saw a common spirit of "live and let live," common ideals, and transportation and communication facilities that bound the nation together into "one vast neighborhood." He saw a "mania for standardization" resulting from industrialization which he felt had a tendency to dehumanize workers. Verissimo saw U.S. traits and values through some of his intellectualized preconceptions, seeing them as based on the precepts of the Bible and the common ideals expressed in the U.S. Declaration of Independence and the Constitution. Subsequently, Verissimo was invited as a visiting professor to U.S. universities on a Department grant. His lectures on Brazil at the University of California were published in book form.

One thing that impressed all the visitors, in contrast to anything they were familiar with in their own countries, was what appeared to be a fantastically dynamic, well-organized, and powerful machine civilization. Some found it difficult to imagine how such an efficient machine could have the human sensitivity and spiritual values in the cultural terms they understood. This was an enigma which brought both friendly and unfriendly reactions. It was a theme made to order for the philosophical Argentine literary critic and essayist Ezequiel Martínez Estrada, a leader grantee in 1942, who saw a deadening uniformity and standardization, a society that was mechanized and dehumanized. He wrote that the United States was so dehumanized that it was capable of invading another planet with a completely different way of life and adapting to it almost automatically.[8]

Verissimo, mentioned above, commented:

> "They have formulas for everything; for eating, for dressing, for reading, for resting, for being courteous, for writing, and even for believing . . . They eat fast, they read fast, they speak fast, they write fast, and even worship fast."

The Peruvian journalist Manuel Seoane, whose visit was facilitated by the Department in 1943, stated, on the same theme,

> "The people in New York rush along the streets in such haste that many times at first I ran after them, thinking that some exciting event had occurred, which, being a newspaperman, I did not want to miss. After I found out that they were just rushing into some office building, store, or subway station, I relaxed and began to enjoy myself."

Most of these visitors were impressed with the order, self-control, and calm teamwork in which the people were busily at work during the war years as though everything was normal. The Argentine historian, Enrique Gandía, an early leader grantee, who wrote a book about his visit,[9] observed, "an admirable discipline in their daily lives . . . if the life of that immense country did not proceed with the regularity of a clock it would become an inferno." For some, the United States appeared so orderly and mechanized that in the words of the Chilean writer Benjamín Subercaseaux, who also wrote a book about his visit to the United States, as a leader grantee in 1943,[10] "We feel like a Polynesian on whom a missionary has just placed a shirt."[11]

Nearly all were impressed by the genuine hospitality of the average U.S. citizen, who was described as friendly, happy, industrious, honest and self-disciplined. Verissimo noted that wherever he traveled the "little man" showed natural gentility and a spirit of good will that were very touching. Seoane wrote: "My first impression was that the American was only a businessman, but the generosity and the cordiality of the American people as I have experienced it on my tours have shown me that the American is much more than a businessman."[12] The reaction expressed almost unanimously, to quote three grantees almost at random, was: "Throughout my trip, I was given every courtesy imaginable and everyone wanted to outdo himself in every way, so that everything that I suggested could be accomplished . . . I have returned from my trip with plenty of new ideas and ways of accomplishing things": "I have made new friendships which I hope will endure, and was treated with utmost courtesy"; "Now at the end of this remarkable trip . . . I must confess that, before making it, I not only did not know the United States but my idea about the country was fundamentally wrong. After visiting so many places, meeting so many persons of all social classes, going into the poorer quarters and modest lunchrooms, now I can say that the typical Yankee as the average [Latin American] believes him to be, if he exists at all, is not, cannot be, representative of this country." [13]

Perhaps the most unfavorable impression upon the grantees was the racial prejudice they observed. Verissimo was shocked by the violent contrast in the living conditions of Negroes and whites in the nation's capital, and at the drawing of the color line in Southern cities. Hernane Tavares de Sá, the Brazilian scholar, after a visit in 1943 referred to the Negro problem as "the most acute and difficult of all the domestic problems" to be solved in the United States. Others were taken aback by the discrimination against dark-skinned Mexican laborers along the Mexican border.[14]

With U.S. industry beginning maximum production in 1941, the Coordinator's Office, the counterpart of the Office of War Information in the Western Hemisphere, brought groups of journalists to see the powerful U.S. industrial machine in action. Visits to war industry facilities were arranged to demonstrate the message of U.S. strength and victory to be carried back to the people of Latin America through the press, radio, and motion pictures. The leader grantees under the Department's cultural program also, unavoidably, saw the war effort on every hand. They were impressed by the fact that while the entire nation was engaged in an emergency war effort, cultural and scientific life continued with advances in art, music, the theater, education, the pure sciences, medical science, engineering, agriculture, and technology. They described a growing nation of unbounded economic potential whose educational and scientific life was already well ahead of most other areas of the world and whose artistic life was yet in the process of attaining its real potential.

They met Government leaders at the national, state, and local levels, professional colleagues, university and school faculty and students, and a wide sector of the U.S. public. They attended national conferences in their fields of interest. They held press and radio interviews. Some participated in major musical performances. They were guests in private homes and saw cross sections of society across the country. As leading figures of various Latin American walks of life, they were frequently called upon to deliver speeches before educational and civic groups of all types, to speak over the radio for both U.S. and overseas listeners, and to lecture before language and Latin American studies groups at summer schools, such as Middlebury College in Vermont, noted for its language program.

The writers from Venezuela included Andrés Eloy Blanco, the country's leading poet, and Mariano Picón-Salas, at the time director of the National Archives in Caracas. Picón-Salas wrote a series of articles dealing with his experiences in the United States.[15] After his visit he remained as visiting professor at Smith College, Columbia, Wellesley, Johns Hopkins, and Middlebury for the 1942–43 academic year, where the interest in his lectures inspired him to write a book on the cultural history of Latin America.[16] During his stay at Smith College he was appointed to the newly created post of cultural attaché to the Venezuelan Embassy in Washington. Writers from Argentina included the essayist and critic Ezequiel Martínez Estrada, quoted earlier, winner of national literary prizes for two of his books; the novelist Max Dickman, translator of John Dos Passos, William Faulkner, and Erskine Caldwell; and Alberto Prando, vice president of the Argentine Society of Writers.

Those from Colombia included Jorge Zalamea, editor and author, who was appointed Minister of Education of his country while in the United States. He lectured widely in the United States and broadcast a series of shortwave radio addresses to Latin American countries. At his request arrangements were made to enable him to visit Thornton Wilder, who had previously lectured in Colombia on a Department grant. Writers from Chile included Benjamín Subercaseaux, quoted above; the Nobel Prize winning poetess, Gabriela Mistral, a popular and highly respected figure throughout the hemisphere who was to be a frequent visitor to the United States in the 1940's as a lecturer and recipient of honors for her literary work and on cultural missions for her government; the novelist and playwright Magdalena Petit; and the literary critic and bibliographer Raúl Silva Castro. Silva Castro, as a correspondent of the Chilean newspaper *El Mercurio*, wrote a series of articles on his impressions of the United States which were published in the paper during the course of his visit. Others included the Uruguayan poet Emilio Oribe; the Mexican dramatist and poet Antonio Mediz Bolio; and Gabriel Méndez Plancarte, essayist and editor of the literary review *Abside* in which he reported at length on his visit to the

United States; the Cuban novelist Enrique Serpa; and the Ecuadorean writer and dramatist Demetrio Aguilera Malta.

Journalists and publicists, substantial in number, included a cross section of owners and publishers, editors, and popular contributors to leading newspapers throughout Latin America. Among them were Alberto Gerchunoff, chief editorial writer of *La Nación*, and Miguel Pi de la Serra, of *La Prensa*, both of Buenos Aires, two of the largest newspapers in the world; José Carrasco, editor of *El Diario* of La Paz, Bolivia; Francisco de Assis Chateaubriand, owner of Diarios Asociados, newspaper chain of Brazil; Caio Julio César Vieira, of *O Jornal* and *Diario do Noite*, organs of Diarios Asociados; Sergio Milliet, writer for *A Mañha* of Rio and head of the editorial section of *O Estado de São Paulo*; and journalists on the staffs of *Diario de São Paulo*, *O Globo*, and *Diario de Noticias*.

From Chile, Domingo Melfi, editor of Santiago's leading newspaper *La Nación*, and *Atenea*, a literary review; Jorge Delano, cartoonist and editor of the popular magazine of cartoons and caricatures *Topaze;* and Lenka Franulic who observed the U.S. Presidential elections of 1944 with a group of seven women journalists from Chile, Uruguay, Peru, Ecuador, and Guatemala under a joint project with the Coordinator's Office. Franulic, editor of a popular women's magazine in Chile, was the translator of works of John Steinbeck and Archibald MacLeish. Others were Roberto García Peña, editor of *El Tiempo* of Bogotá, Colombia; Otilio Ulate, owner and editor of *Diario de Costa Rica*, and later president of his country, who had a brief interview with President Truman; Raúl Maestri, assistant managing editor of *Diario de la Marina*, and Pedro Cué, owner and publisher of *El Mundo*, and Julio César González Rebull, editor of *El Crisól*, all of Havana, Cuba; Jorge Fidel Durón, editor of the Honduran daily *America Unida* and the weekly *Gaceta Rotaria*, president of the Honduran Institute of Inter-American Culture and later appointed delegate to the U.N. General Assembly; Oscar Shaerer, editor of *La Tribuna*, the most widely read newspaper in Asunción, Paraguay; José Angel Escalante, owner of *El Comercio*, in Cuzco, Peru; Alberto Lesplaces, on the editorial staff of *El Día* of Uruguay, whose grant was timed to enable him to receive the Maria Moors Cabot prize for journalism in New York on behalf of his newspaper; Juan Oropesa, of the staff of *Ahora*, the leading newspaper of Caracas, and the distinguished Venezuelan journalist and public leader, Manuel Vicente Tinoco. All wrote articles about the United States based on their visits, most of them in the spirit of good will and hemisphere solidarity, reaching a large public audience throughout Latin America.

But some sought and found weaknesses as well as the strengths in the Yankee character. Assis Chateaubriand, the well-known publisher of the widely read *O Jornal* of Rio de Janeiro, a leader grantee in 1944, wrote that "though unexcelled in commercial propaganda . . . Americans are mediocre in intellectual or political propaganda," with an "incapacity in dealing with Latin Americans and in sensing their reactions." [17]

A number of the leading historians of the Latin American countries visited the United States as leader grantees. They lectured widely at U.S. universities, engaged in research when the opportunity presented itself, established lasting contacts with fellow historians in the United States, and wrote many articles in newspapers and magazines upon return to their countries. Among them were Enrique M. Gandía of Argentina, who in 1944 completed his 60th book, and author of a volume on his impressions of the United States, cited earlier; Pedro Calmon, Sergio Buarque de Hollanda, and Dante de Laytano of Brazil; Domingo Amunátegui y Solar, dean of Chilean letters in the early 1940's, and Eugenio Pereira Salas, Chilean authority on the history of Chilean-U.S. relations; Guillermo Hernández de Alba and Roberto Cortázar of Colombia; J. Mariano Incháustegui and Emilio Rodríguez Demorizi of the Dominican Republic; Vito Alessio Robles of Mexico; Jorge Basadre, who returned many times to the United States to lecture and to hold important cultural assignments for his country; Father Rubén Vargas Ugarte and José Uriel García of Peru; and Enrique Rodríguez Fabregat of Uruguay, who extended his stay to complete a book on the life of Abraham Lincoln. Rodríguez Fabregat later was delegate from his country in the U.N. General Assembly. Several persons on this long list returned to the United States on more than one occasion as visiting professors of Latin American history.

The social sciences, the arts, and the humanities were also represented by a large percentage of the leader grantees. Among those from Argentina were Horacio Butler, internationally known painter; Martín Noel, president of the National Academy of Fine Arts and art historian; the architect Mario J. Buschiazzo, member of the National Commission of Museums, Monuments, and Historic Sites; and Héctor Basaldúa, scenic designer of the Teatro Colón in Buenos Aires. From Brazil, visitors included the distinguished composer and conductor Francisco Mignone; the sociologist A. Carneiro Leão; and the geographer Christovam Leite de Castro, director of the National Council of Geography. From Chile, Domingo Santa Cruz, pioneer Latin American educator in the field of music; the musician René

Amengual; and Carlos Humeres Soler, director of the School of Fine Arts and Fine Arts editor of *El Mercurio*. From Colombia, Luis Duque Gómez, director of the National Ethnological Institute and the National Ethnological Museum, and author of scholarly works in his field; and Teresa Cuervo Borda, director of the National Museum of Colonial Art and History. From Costa Rica, concert violinist Raúl Cabezas; and from the Dominican Republic, composer, music critic, and radio station director Enrique de Marchena. From Cuba, internationally known authority on the ethnography and folklore of the Caribbean area, Fernando Ortiz. From Ecuador, painter and woodcut artist Oswaldo Guayasamín. From Haiti, distinguished anthropologist Jean Price-Mars; and from Honduras, director of the School of Fine Arts Arturo López Rodezno.

From Mexico, well-known art historian and critic, and director of the Institute of Art Research at the National University in the 1940's, Manuel Toussaint; Julio Jiménez Rueda, the literary scholar; several distinguished anthropologists and ethnologists including Daniel R. Rubín de la Borbolla, director of the National School of Anthropology; and sociologist Manuel Gamio, director of the Inter-American Indian Institute. From Nicaragua, Amador Lira, director of the School of Fine Arts. Leaders from Uruguay included José Luis Zorrilla de San Martín, sculptor and painter, and director of the National Fine Arts Museum; and the philosopher Luis Gil Salguero. Guillermo Enciso Velloso, social scientist from Paraguay, was later appointed Ambassador of his country to the United States.

Among the Peruvian leader grantees were the painter and director of the School of Fine Arts, José Sabogal; the art supervisor of all national schools Enrique Camino Brent; the distinguished architect Emilio Harth-Terré, who was engaged in rebuilding the National Library destroyed by fire in 1943. Harth-Terré was the founding father of the Peruvian National Council for the Preservation and Restoration of Historic Monuments. Others in this category were Peruvian diplomat and man of letters Rafael Belaunde; archeologist Luis Valcárcel; and author of authoritative works on Peruvian poetry and literature, Estuardo Núñez.

Other major fields of the leader grantees of the 1940's were education, library science, the sciences, medical science and public health, law, engineering, social welfare, agriculture, labor affairs, and specialized Government technical fields. All of the countries of the hemisphere were represented in visits to the United States by their most distinguished leaders in these fields. Women leaders predominated in the social welfare fields. Most of them were lawyers or doctors holding prominent posts in universities, hospitals and clinics, and Government agencies. A number of them were also distinguished in the field of letters.

Those from Latin American government departments and agencies represented all senior levels up to sub-secretary in the various ministries. A number of them had previously done graduate work in the United States and had spent periods of study in U.S. Government agencies, and as they rose to important positions they encouraged promising younger officers to seek similar professional study in the United States. Over the years a permanent body of well-trained professionals was being created in a number of Latin American government departments. Responding to Latin American government interest there was a notable increase in the number of grantees in these fields in the late 1940's.

In library and archival science most of the directors of national libraries, national archives, and other principal libraries visited the United States under the program. An important milestone in this field was the Assembly of Librarians of the Americas, held in Washington from May 12 to June 6, 1947, under the auspices of the Department of State, Library of Congress, Pan American Union, and American Library Association. The personal interest of Luther Evans, the Librarian of Congress, and Lewis Hanke, director of the Hispanic Foundation of the Library, was a major factor in the success of the conference. After the meeting the participants visited libraries in various centers throughout the country and ended their visit by attending the annual meeting of the American Library Association in San Francisco. Librarians and archivists from about a dozen Latin American countries were invited by the Department to participate, and Puerto Rico, Canada, and the Philippines sent librarians at their government's expense to attend the meetings. The sessions with U.S. library and archive experts had lasting results in furthering inter-American library exchange and cooperation. The groundwork was successfully laid for continued consultation and improved library services.

In the field of education, almost equal attention was afforded the elementary, secondary, and university levels. Latin American educators had long admired the educational system of the United States, its public school system, and the notable advances at the university level in the sciences, medicine, and engineering. Ministries of education and universities welcomed the increased opportunities provided by the U.S. Government for their administrative officers and teachers to observe education in the United States, and to obtain information on curricula, textbooks and other teaching materials, and methods of school administration and organization. Some had instructions to recruit visiting professors and teachers in specific fields. Many were instructed by their ministries of education or university rectors to make special reports to them upon the completion of their visits.

At the elementary and secondary levels and in the field of special education, the countries most represented under the leader program were Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Bolivia, Mexico, Uruguay, Cuba, Haiti, Panama, and Costa Rica. The grantees included directors of schools, inspectors general of education, educational ministry officials, editors of school journals and presidents of national teachers associations. For example, in 1941 Maurice Dartigue, director of Rural Education of Haiti, visited the United States as a leader grantee. On his return to his country he was named Minister of Agriculture and Public Instruction. His visit was followed by other representatives of the ministry, including Arsène Pompée, Superintendent of Secondary Education, who visited the United States as a leader grantee in 1947. Those from Mexico included Francisco de Villagrán, director of the preparatory school of the National University, and Guillermo Bonilla Segura, head of the education ministry's Department of Cultural Missions to the rural areas of the country. Manuel Gamio, an authority on Indian affairs, visited Indian schools and met with U.S. specialists in this work.

Those from Panama included Catalino Arrocha Gräell, director of the National Institute, a large preparatory school for boys. A distinguished educator well known by colleagues in the United States through his participation in inter-American conferences, he served on various occasions as Under Secretary of Public Instruction. The grantees from Cuba included Medarto Vitier, of the Normal School of Matanzas, who was appointed acting Inspector General of Normal Schools and Director of Culture after his return to Cuba. He wrote extensively about his visit in the widely read newspaper *El Diario de la Marina* and submitted a detailed report to his government on educational methods in the United States. Among those from Uruguay was the president of the Council on Secondary Education. On his return he wrote numerous articles on education in the United States in the Montevideo newspapers, *El Día*, *El Bien Público*, *El País*, and *La Mañana*. Another was María Emilia Castellanos de Puchet, director of the Teachers Institute in Durazno, a leader in rural and adult education, and president of the Uruguayan Association of Teachers in the mid-1940's.

At the university level, administration and faculty development in the United States were an early major interest of Latin American university leaders, as well as the latest developments in all aspects of

U.S. higher education. Between 1940 and 1948, more than 20 rectors, or presidents, of Latin American universities, 8 vice rectors and secretaries of universities, and scores of deans came to this country on Department grants. Among them were some of the leading scientists, doctors, lawyers, engineers, and men of letters in their countries. The results of their visits inspired many other university officials to visit the United States for similar purposes under other auspices, a number of whom were provided grants by private U.S. foundations and professional organizations. Many student exchanges resulted from these visits. An example of the effectiveness of cultural relations in developing contacts of mutual interest even in times of tension between the countries concerned was the visit to the United States in January 1942 of the rectors of two of Argentina's leading universities, Alfredo Palacios of the University of La Plata and Edmundo Correas of the National University of Cuyo, in Mendoza, for the purpose of developing cooperative arrangements with U.S. universities for faculty and student exchanges. This was at a time when public attention in the hemisphere was centered on Argentina as hostile to the goal of full inter-American solidarity in facing the Axis threat.[18]

Most of the university rectors who visited the United States under the Department's leader program were well known throughout Latin America, both as educators and as leaders in their fields of scholarship. The first grantee under the program, Father Aurelio Espinosa Polit, rector of the Catholic University in Quito, was one of the leading classical scholars of Latin America and the authority on the late 18th century Ecuadorean intellectual leader and patriot Francisco Espejo. Josué Gollán, rector of the National University of the Litoral in Argentina, a distinguished chemist in his country, wrote, on his return to Latin America, a scholarly article on technical research in the United States in the Argentine journal *Industria y Química*. Jorge Americano, Professor of International Law at the University of São Paulo, became rector of the university upon his return to Brazil. Salvador Mendieta, one of the two rectors of the University of Nicaragua who visited the United States in the 1940's, patterned his university on the U.S. model. Enrique Laroza, director of the National School of Engineers in Lima, published a detailed report on educational institutions in the United States. He was subsequently appointed Minister of Education. Héctor Ormachea Zalles, rector of the University of La Paz, an economist, and Aniceto Solares, rector of the University of Sucre, a doctor, invited visiting professors from the United States to these two leading universities in Bolivia. Rogelio Sotela, secretary of the University of Costa Rica, summarized his impressions of his visit in the *Anales de la Universi-*

dad and stated that he planned to adapt his university to methods of administration, curriculum improvements, and student housing facilities observed on his visit. Faculty and student exchanges were initiated or increased as a result of the visits by Manuel Sandoval Vallarta, director of the National Politecnic Institute in Mexico; Cyro Berlinck, director of the Escola Livre de Sociologia e Politica in São Paulo; Juvenal Hernández, for many years rector of the National University of Chile; Carlos Martínez Durán, rector of the University of San Carlos in Guatemala; and Juan Boggino, a distinguished specialist in pathology and rector of the National University of Paraguay, who as a result of his observations in the United States in 1945 encouraged more exchanges after publicly repudiating the anti-U.S. Rodó thesis in which he had been indoctrinated as a youth.[19]

Although it was not program policy in the 1940's to invite political leaders as such, a number of these grantees were political leaders in their countries. Roberto Prudencio, Professor of Economics at the University of La Paz, and Carlos Salamanca, Professor of Constitutional Law at the University of Cochabamba, were members of the House of Deputies in Bolivia. Jorge Americano was a State Deputy in Brazil. Carlos Lozano y Lozano, lawyer and journalist, was a former member of the House and Senate, and a former Vice President of Colombia. Jorge Zalamea of Colombia; Fernando Ortiz and Pedro Cué of Cuba; Jean Price-Mars of Haiti; José Angel Escalante, José Uriel García, Andrés Eloy Blanco, and Manuel Vicente Tinoco of Venezuela, journalists and men of letters, had all served in Congress in their countries. Manuel Seoane, Peruvian journalist and author, was a member of the Peruvian Senate and was second in command of the Alianza Popular Revolucionaria Americana (APRA) political movement in Peru.

After the grantees returned to their countries they gave numerous lectures relating to their visits, spoke over the radio, and wrote books and scores of articles about their personal and professional experiences in the United States that were published in newspapers, magazines, and professional publications reaching a wide audience. Many continuing relationships between individuals and institutions resulted from their visits. Among the large number who were university presidents and faculty deans, arrangements were made for professor and student exchanges which in some cases established interinstitutional linkages that continued to flourish for many years in specific fields of graduate study and joint research. Over 500 Latin American leaders and specialists visited the United States for periods of approximately 3 months as guests of the Department of State between 1940 and 1949. In many cases they continued as leaders in their fields of activity for a whole generation after the war.

Between 1940 and 1948, 32 Latin American visiting professors received grants to teach at U.S. universities. They made a substantial contribution to Latin American studies and Spanish and Portuguese language interest in many universities, colleges, and schools across the country. Some of them were invited back many times under private auspices in subsequent years. There were a few visiting professors in other fields, and some senior scholars who received grants for advanced research in fields such as the physical and medical sciences, but the opportunities were limited by language problems. English teaching was expanding in Latin America with substantial U.S. encouragement, but it seemed to have missed a number of better known scholars in the area. In teaching Latin American subjects and language courses in the United States, lack of English was not a major problem, and some of the leading men and women of letters welcomed the opportunity to serve as visiting professors to the great advantage of their hosts in this country. Approximately two-thirds of the visitors in this category represented the fields of Spanish and Portuguese language, and Spanish American and Brazilian literature and civilization. Their principal host institutions in the United States were located in every major geographic section of the country.

Among the distinguished men of letters who lectured at universities in the United States as recipients of visiting professor grants, some of them having visited the United States earlier as leader grantees, were Erico Verissimo, Mario de Souza Lima, and Emilio Willems of Brazil; Eugenio Pereira Salas of Chile; Daniel Samper Ortega of Colombia; José María Chacón y Calvo, and Luis Baralt of Cuba; Demetrio Aguilera Malta of Ecuador; Gabriel Méndez Plancarte, Antonio Castro Leal, and Ermilo Abreu Gómez of Mexico; José Jiménez Borja, Víctor Andrés Belaunde, and Jorge Basadre of Peru; and E. Rodríguez Fabregat of Uruguay. In the field of art, visiting professors included Martín Noel and Julio Payró of Argentina, A. Gálvez Suárez of Guatemala, José Perotti of Chile; in the field of music Francisco Curt Lange, pioneer educator in music in Uruguay, and Vicente Mendoza of Mexico.

Exchanges of school teachers with Latin America were primarily in language teaching with multinational groups of English teachers coming to the United States in groups totaling approximately 100 from all parts of Latin America, largely from Mexico, the Central American countries, Brazil, Ecuador, Venezuela, and Cuba between

1943 and 1945, the peak period. Many were from schools outside the metropolitan areas. Of the hundreds of language teachers who attended teacher seminars in English at the cultural centers throughout Latin America, some of the best ones were selected for study in the United States. In the case of Brazil, a number of teachers who were selected from those attending the seminars for teachers of English at the cultural center in São Paulo received grants for study in the United States. These group projects were usually arranged in cooperation with U.S. universities through the U.S. Office of Education, with the teachers, in groups from various countries, attending special English language programs at selected universities for periods of approximately 6 months.

The largest number of Latin American grantees during this period consisted of graduate students. The general trend was to obtain advanced training in fields of immediate practical value to their respective governments: economics, medicine, engineering, the sciences, education, law, and public and business administration. Mention has been made earlier of the rigorous screening and selection of the student grantees. They were generally employed and obtained leaves of absence for study in specific fields germane to their employment. From the end of 1940 to the end of 1947, some 1,549 graduate students from the other American republics studied in the United States on grants from the Department under the Buenos Aires Convention arrangement and the Act for Cooperation with the Other American Republics.[20] As noted earlier, in the 1940's, the total number of Latin American students enrolled in U.S. colleges and universities, both at the graduate and undergraduate levels, increased steadily each year.[21] The Department grants provided a major impetus for that increase, and represented a long-range program of undefinable but continuing benefits to the countries to which the students returned, and to the inter-American and international cultural dimension of university life in the United States.

No comprehensive study of the subsequent careers of these student grantees has been made. A few examples are given below by way of illustration, which could be expanded manyfold. Thus, a student from Colombia, Ignacio Restrepo Posada, who studied sanitary engineering at Pennsylvania State University, was commissioned by the National University in Bogotá to establish a laboratory of sanitary engineering at that institution upon his return, and by the municipal government of Bogotá to improve the city's sanitary system. A student of architectural design from Uruguay, Ildefonso Aróztegui, following his return to his country, was awarded as the grand prize of the Faculty of Architecture of the National University a grant for further study of architecture in other countries. A student of library science from Panama, Galileo Patiño, later became the director of the National Library of his country. A student of geography from Brazil, Hilgard O'Reilly Sternberg, was called home to become Professor of Geography at the University of Brazil. A student of philosophy from Argentina, Risieri Frondizi, later became rector of the University of Buenos Aires. A student of economics from Guatemala, Manuel Noriega Morales, was called home immediately after completing his master's degree to be Minister of Finance, and later became president of the National Bank. A student of chemical engineering from Chile, Luciano Cabala, became dean of the School of Chemical Engineering at the University of Concepción; another, Guido Alfonso Jorquera, became a professor on the same faculty, and among other activities was invited by the University of Antioquia in Colombia to establish and equip a department of chemical engineering there. He stated that it was being set up according to the patterns he had studied in the United States. It would take several pages to list the students of medicine who later made distinguished contributions in their fields of specialization in their countries. A number of returned graduate students were later sent on official missions by their governments to the United States and other countries and were appointed delegates to international conferences. Some of those who later won hemisphere-wide distinction in their fields were subsequently invited by the Department as leader grantees. Hilgard O'Reilly Sternberg, the distinguished Brazilian geographer, and Risieri Frondizi, the Argentine educator, returned a number of times to the United States at the invitation of U.S. universities.[22]

During the 1944–45 and 1945–46 academic years a special program for journalists was carried out by the Department with the cooperation of the schools of journalism of several U.S. universities. The first group included 20 journalists from 14 countries, and the second included 12 from seven countries. They were all practicing journalists on the staffs of newspapers in their countries. They remained for periods of from 6 to 9 months at the Universities of Minnesota, Northwestern, Missouri, Harvard, Rutgers, and Texas, combining academic courses with practical work in local newspaper establishments.[23]

Mention should be made of the important contributions of Latin American student grantees through their participation in the student life of the universities they attended, and in the activities of binational cultural centers and in organizing alumni organizations after returning to their countries. For example, a student from Haiti gave two brief series of lectures on Haitian civilization and folklore at the Université Française in New York, participated in the spring festival at Fisk University where she spoke about Haiti, and obtained six scholarships for Haiti from the Institute of African Studies. Two law students, one from Cuba and the other from Panama, wrote articles on legal subjects that were published in the *Michigan Law Review.* A returned student from Brazil was elected president of the cultural institute in Florianópolis. By 1947, alumni associations of persons who had studied in the United States had been established on the initiative of returned student grantees in Argentina, Brazil, Cuba, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Mexico, Peru, and Uruguay.[24]

Notes

CHAPTER XIV

1. Charles A. Thomson, "The Human Factor in Inter-American Relations," *Department of State Bulletin*, IV (Apr. 19, 1941), p. 481.
2. "Report on Travel Grant Program," (Jan. 1942), pp. 1–2, typed carbon copy, CU/H. See also, Francis J. Colligan, "Exchange of Specialists and Distinguished Leaders in the Western Hemisphere," *Department of State Bulletin*, XIII (Sept. 9, 1945), pp. 366–370.
3. Olcott H. Deming, "The Program of the Interdepartmental Committee on Scientific and Cultural Cooperation—A Laboratory of International Cooperation," *The Record* (Nov. 1947), pp. 1–9; *Inter-American Technical Cooperation, United States Participation, 1938–1948*, Report of the U.S. Delegation to the 9th International Conference of American States (Washington, D.C.: 1948); *The Record*, 1945–1950, *passim*. Under the Interdepartmental Committee, the temporary detail of U.S. Government experts, and the in-service training programs for Latin American government specialists, under Public Law 63, 76th Congress, which had grown into a massive program in the mid-1940's, inspired leader and student grants under the Department's cultural program in many scientific and technical fields.

   Cooperative programs for strengthening the preparation of women for leadership in many fields, and the role of women's organizations, were substantial beginning in 1940 through the exchanges under the Women's Bureau of the U.S. Department of Labor. See Mary M. Cannon, "Activities of Women's Organizations in the Other American Republics," *The Record* (Apr. 1946), pp. 12–15, and "Women Labor Officials of Other American Republics Receive Certificates of Accomplishment," *ibid.* (Aug. 1946), pp. 20–23. See also, *Cooperation in the Americas* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1948).

4. Unless otherwise indicated, the following paragraphs are based largely on the monthly and semimonthly reports of the Department on the exchange programs for the period: *Report of the Division of Cultural Relations; Report of the Science, Education and Art Division; Monthly Information Bulletin of the Division of Cultural Cooperation;* and *The Record.*
5. Joseph Privitera, *The Latin American Front* (Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Co., 1945); Francis J. Colligan, "The Government and International Interchange," *The Review of Politics*, XX (Oct. 1958), p. 561.
6. *Gato Preto em Campo de Neve. Romance de uma viagem nos Estados Unidos* (Porto Alegre, Brazil: 1941). Dedicated to Thornton Wilder.
7. Quoted from *O Jornal*, Rio de Janeiro, Oct. 6, 1945; Donald M. Dozer, *Are We Good Neighbors? Three Decades of Inter-American Relations, 1930–1960* (Gainesville: Univ. of Florida Press, 1959), p. 185. Unless otherwise indicated, the principal quotes from Verissimo are from Dozer, pp. 84, 85, 86, 159–160, and 185.
8. Ezequiel Martínez Estrada "Juicio Sintético sobre Estados Unidos," *Libertad Creadora*, La Plata, Argentina (Apr.-May–June, 1943), p. 201.
9. *El Gigante del Norte: Una Visión de Estados Unidos* (Buenos Aires, Argentina: Editorial Claridad, 1942).
10. Benjamin Subercaseaux, *Retorno de U.S.A.-New York, Spring 1943. Crónicas* (Santiago, Chile: Zig-zag, 1943).
11. Quoted in Dozer, *op. cit.*, p. 175.
12. *Report of the Division of Cultural Relations*, Sept. 1942, p. 32.
13. *Ibid.*, Jan. 1943, pp. 5, 6, 8.
14. From another aspect, the Chicago *Sunday Bee*, a Negro newspaper, published on June 27, 1943, an article on the visit to Chicago by Dr. Oswaldo R. Cabral, president of the Red Cross of the State of Santa Catarina, Brazil, a leader grantee, quoting him as praising the work being done in Chicago "for the development of understanding between the Negroes and white people." The article went on to say "These good will exchange visits mean much to us." *Ibid.*, June 1943, p. 20.
15. *On Being Good Neighbors* (Washington, D.C.: Pan American Union, 1944).
16. *De la Conquista a la Independencia, Tres Siglos de Historia Cultural Hispanoamericana* (Mexico: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1944), translated into English by Irving A. Leonard, under the title *A Cultural History of Latin America, From Conquest to Independence* (Berkeley: Univ. of Calif. Press, 1962).
17. Quoted in Dozer, *op. cit.*, pp. 135–134.
18. *Report of the Division of Cultural Relations*, Jan. 1942, p. 1.
19. *El País*, Asunción, July 5, 1945, cited in Dozer, *op. cit.*, p. 167. José Enrique Rodó (1871–1917), Uruguayan literary critic and essayist, was one of the greatest Latin American prose writers of the turn of the century. In his book *Ariel* (1900), which was written at the moment when the prodigious development of the United States and its astoundingly easy victory over Spain in 1898 found many admirers in the Latin American countries, he admonished the youth of the countries to the south, to whom the book was

addressed, against aping the United States, which seemed to him to represent the glorification of a narrow, materialistic society. *Ariel* was widely read and discussed for many years, and had considerable impact especially among the younger generation throughout Latin America.

20. Office memorandum from Oliver J. Caldwell to Francis J. Colligan, Division of International Exchange of Persons (IEP), circa early 1948. CU/H.
21. Institute of International Education, *Twenty-Fifth Annual Report*, (New York: 1944), pp. 64–66; and *Thirtieth Annual Report*, (New York: 1949), pp. 131–133.
22. The examples given in this paragraph were selected from those printed in the monthly and bimonthly reports cited in note 4 above.
23. Office memorandum entitled "Visiting Resident Journalists," prepared by Mrs. E. W. Stabler, Division of International Exchange of Persons (IEP), June 24, 1946. CU/H.
24. Office memorandum prepared by Harry H. Pierson, IEP, Dec. 11, 1946, p. 2; *Monthly Progress Report*, IEP, Nov. 1946, p. 14. CU/H.

CHAPTER XV

U.S. Grantees

THE U.S. GRANTEES to the other American republics, as noted earlier, were university professors, leaders and specialists in many fields, as well as school teachers and graduate students. The U.S. professors far outnumbered those from Latin America; the U.S. leaders and specialists were much fewer in comparison; the exchanges of teachers were approximately the same in each direction; and the U.S. student grantees were only a handful compared to those from Latin America. The purposes and accomplishments of the U.S. grantees varied considerably in view of the great contrasts in the resources and opportunities available in each of the 20 republics to the south.

With the view to presenting a balanced picture of U.S. intellectual life, the Division sent leaders and specialists in many fields. With this same purpose in mind, a number of the U.S. professors were sent on short-term professorial missions, individually or in groups, arranged largely by the Department and U.S. Embassies. In the official statistics for the period 1941–1948, an estimated 189 grants were recorded under the heading "visiting professors," and 65 as "specialists and distinguished leaders,"[1] but in many cases their varied activities were indistinguishable.

The criteria for selecting visiting professors included high competence in specialized fields, knowledge of and sympathy with the problems of the host country, sensitivity to other people's way of life, and the ability to learn as well as to teach. Those selected represented a fairly broad cross section of educational institutions across the country. Between 1941 and 1948 they were drawn from 79 institutions in 29 States and the District of Columbia. They served in 49 institutions in 20 Latin American countries. They traveled on regular passports and enjoyed the same privileges of academic freedom that they had in the United States. The fields of specialization they represented were widely diversified, indicating not only the breadth of interest in U.S. life on the part of the Latin American countries, but also the extensive opportunities open to U.S. educators.

Most of the visiting professors engaged in a wide range of extracurricular activities in addition to their teaching assignments. They made the acquaintance of numerous scholars and intellectual leaders. They attended or read papers at numerous meetings and conferences. They gathered professional information about the institutions in the countries they visited. They gave public lectures. They acted as consultants to university colleagues and Ministers of Education. They published articles, syllabuses, and textbooks, sometimes jointly with Latin American colleagues. They reached a large number of university students who could not be expected to travel abroad. Upon their return to the United States, institutional connections often continued through their stimulation of faculty and student exchanges and joint research projects. In addition, through articles and speeches in the United States they shared their newly acquired knowledge about Latin America with colleagues and others in their communities.[2]

In considering the length of the grants, Department policy was flexible to the extent that officers believed that program goals would be well served. About a fourth of the grants were for full year teaching assignments. Some were extended for a second year. In a few exceptional cases a grant was extended for a third year, but the policy was to limit grants to a maximum of 2 years. Others ranged from a semester to several weeks, some of the latter including lecturing at several universities. The short-term grants were often referred to as "professorial missions." They included summer school assignments, university lectures timed to permit participation in professional conferences, and special lecturing assignments. Some special projects included grants to several lecturers in the same field to lecture and conduct seminars or clinics at institutions in more than one country; others provided contract arrangements with a U.S. university under which a group of U.S. professors conducted summer school programs for U.S. teachers of Spanish and Latin American civilization in the host country; and in the late 1940's, projects in cooperation with cultural centers in Latin American countries under which teams of U.S. professors were sent to lecture and conduct special courses on various aspects of U.S. civilization.

The method for selecting U.S. professors went through several stages in the 1940's. The initial procedure was that agreed upon under the Buenos Aires Convention, described earlier, which was so cumbersome that it was quietly abandoned early in the 1940's. From that time until 1948, U.S. professor grantees were recruited and selected directly by the Department's exchange-of-persons staff in consultation with the national research councils, professional organizations, other U.S. Government agencies, universities, and former grantees.[3] Some of the grants were awarded to U.S. professors specifically requested by Latin American universities. The following paragraphs note some of the accomplishments of both the U.S. "visiting professors" and the "specialists and distinguished leaders."[4]

Among the awards to U.S. professors, a major field was English language teaching. In Mexico, for example, Dr. Albert A. Marckwardt of the University of Michigan did pioneer work in developing the groundwork for serious English language teaching in that country, adapting some of the research and teaching methods developed at the English Language Institute of his university, the leading center in this field in the United States. He served as director of the English Language Institute at the National University in Mexico City from 1943 to 1945 where he was engaged primarily in the training of English teachers and developing methods of instruction and the preparation of teaching materials.

Regular courses in English language and U.S. literature were taught by U.S. visiting professors at the University of Chuquisaca in Bolivia; the University of Brazil; the University of Chile; the National University and the Xaveriana University in Bogotá, the Universities of Antioquia and Cauca in Colombia; the University of Havana, Cuba; the University of Guayaquil, Ecuador; the University of El Salvador; the University of San Carlos in Guatemala; and the University of Haiti. Professor A. C. Howell of the University of North Carolina lectured at the University of San Carlos and at the Guatemalan-American Institute. His lectures at the Institute were published by the University of San Carlos.[5] U.S. literature was taught for several consecutive years at the University of Brazil. In 1943 President Vargas of Brazil signed a law establishing a chair of U.S. literature at the University of Brazil and in each of the other government universities of the country. Professor Morton D. Zabel of the University of Chicago received a Department grant to serve as the first occupant of the chair at the University of Brazil where he served for 2 years, succeeded by W. J. Griffin of St. Cloud State University of Minnesota.

A full year course in U.S. history was taught by Charles C. Griffin of Vassar College at the Pedagogical Institute in Caracas, Venezuela. Shorter courses were taught in several countries by distinguished U.S. historians including Herbert E. Bolton of the University of California, in Mexico; Arthur S. Aiton of the University of Michigan, in Costa Rica; and Bert J. Lowenberg of Sarah Lawrence College, in Mexico. Samuel Flagg Bemis of Yale University engaged in research in diplomatic history and lectured in Cuba. Other well-known U.S. historians participated in special group projects, as noted below.

In sociology, from 1944 to 1947, full year courses were taught by Professor Donald Pierson of the University of Chicago at the Escola Livre de Sociologia e Politica in São Paulo, where he continued to direct a research program in which he had been engaged there earlier under other auspices. Rex Crawford of the University of Pennsylvania taught sociology for a full year at the University of Chile. In psychology, Otto Klineberg of Columbia University spent 2 years, 1945 to 1947, as visiting professor at the University of São Paulo. Among the fruits of the cooperative research that he initiated in general psychology and social psychology were several volumes published in Brazil including a basic volume entitled *Psicologia Moderna* in collaboration with 18 Brazilian scholars.[6] In 1944, the distinguished sociologist W. E. B. Du Bois, of Atlanta University, lectured during the summer at the University of Haiti where he drew large audiences. He spoke on race relations and expressed the hope that in this field nations would put into practice in the postwar period what was so eloquently stated on human rights in the Atlantic Charter.[7] In 1946 John B. Biesanz, Professor of Sociology at the University of Pittsburgh, in collaboration with his wife Mavis, wrote a book on life in Costa Rica, based on research there during his visiting professorship. A *Newsweek* reviewer referred to it as "the best book in English" on the subject;[8] Oscar Lewis engaged in research in Cuba under the program during the same year; and Lynn T. Smith of Louisiana State University lectured at the University of Brazil in Rio.

In economics, William G. Madow of the University of North Carolina served as visiting professor at the University of São Paulo, Brazil, for 2 years; and Gottfried Haberler, of Harvard University, lectured at the University of Brazil and the Getulio Vargas Foundation in Rio. His lectures were published in book form by the Foundation.[9]

In engineering and the sciences, a number of practical contributions were made to university program improvement. For example, Charles Dobbel of the School of Engineering at Stanford University, helped develop the curriculum of the School of Petroleum Geology of the National University in Caracas, Venezuela, introducing such innovations as the unit-credit system. Hobart E. Stocking of the Department of Geology at the Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College, visiting professor at the University of Costa Rica, prepared a textbook entitled *Los Principios de la Geología*, which was subsequently used at the university. Kenneth E. Caster of the University of Cincinnati, in addition to teaching elementary courses in geology and paleontology, conducted a graduate seminar and served as director of the Department of Geology during his 3 years as an exchange professor at the University of São Paulo, Brazil.

Carroll W. Dodge, one of the first U.S. visiting professors under the Buenos Aires Convention, a specialist in medical mycology at Washington University in St. Louis who spent 2 years as an exchange professor in botany at the University of Guatemala, in 1941 and 1942, was representative of the varied contributions one U.S. professor could make in addition to university teaching. He worked daily in the public health laboratories, and reported:

> "I have had all the cases I could study for both diagnosis and treatment, even though I am not a doctor of medicine. I have also handled many cases of skin diseases not in my special field, since there is no dermatologist in Guatemala. Patients come from all walks of life, from high society and public officials to the humblest Indians. *Sanidad Pública* has given me every facility and assistance I could use."

He continued in his report:

> "At various times, I have been called upon to study and advise control for various plant diseases as there is no adequately trained pathologist in the Department of Agriculture. Some problems have been quite simple, needing a single visit to the farm, others have required considerable work, as on a serious disease of citronella and lemon grass, which threatened to wipe out the crop in this country . . . A satisfactory control has been worked out . . . I am still working on a serious coffee disease in the northwest corner of the country which I hope to visit again shortly during the long vacation." [10]

He was one of a number of visiting professors under the program who was granted an honorary degree by his host university in recognition of his services.

During and after the war, increasing numbers of Latin Americans turned to the United States for study and research in medicine and dentistry, fields in which the United States had become preeminent, and as this movement grew, each year prominent U.S. doctors and dentists were invited to Latin America for short-term lecturing and demonstration of new techniques. They served both as visiting professors and specialists, combining attendance at professional conferences and lecturing and demonstration at medical or dental schools, hospitals, and clinics. One of them reported in the mid-1940's that the nucleus of the younger members of the medical profession in the Latin American countries had all received their training in the United States and that most of them maintained continuing professional contacts in the United States. The work of the medical and dental associations in the United States in promoting inter-American collaboration in these fields played an important role in these developments.

As mentioned in an earlier chapter, three leading U.S. specialists in the field of medicine were among the first grantees under the program to visit Latin American countries. Their visits early in 1941 were followed by those of many other U.S. medical experts throughout the 1940's. They included Eric G. Ball of Harvard, lecturer in cellular respiration at the University of Brazil; and Warren Andrew of the Southwestern Medical College, Dallas, Texas, lecturer in histology at the University of Montevideo, who was instrumental in initiating a flow of faculty interchanges in medicine between U.S. and Uruguayan medical centers. Visiting United States professors in dentistry in the 1940's included Leo A. Walzak, of the University of Maryland, to the National University in Mexico; Stanley D. Tylman, University of Illinois, to the University of La Paz in Bolivia; and Kurt H. Thoma of the Massachusetts General Hospital, Floyd A. Peyton of the University of Texas, and Herman Becks of the University of California to the National University of San Carlos in Guatemala. All resulted in subsequent inter-university arranged exchanges.

Distinguished grantees in the natural sciences during this period included Detlev W. Bronk of the University of Pennsylvania, who lectured on biophysics at the University of Brazil, and Oscar Riddle of Harvard University and the Carnegie Institution in Washington, who lectured on genetics in Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Peru, Uruguay, Guatemala, and Mexico.

In mathematics the most notable contributions were made by visiting professors at the National University of Mexico, the University of São Paulo, and the University of Brazil. The work of George D. Birkhoff and his son Garrett Birkhoff of Harvard University, and Solomon Lefschetz of Princeton University, at the Mathematics Institute of the National University of Mexico, where they attracted scholars for advanced study at Harvard and Princeton in the mid-1940's, helped lay the groundwork for a center there which is one of the most distinguished in Latin America. A later president of the National University of Mexico stated that the success of its Institute was the result of the collaboration with U.S. scholars, notably these three. At the two institutions in Brazil mentioned above four other leading U.S. mathematicians also made notable contributions: Oscar Zariski of Johns Hopkins University; A. A. Albert and Marshall H. Stone of the University of Chicago; and Warren Ambrose of Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

In the field of letters, Thornton Wilder lectured in Colombia, Ecuador, and Peru, and John Erskine, in Uruguay in 1941. Their visits have been briefly discussed in an earlier chapter. Samuel Putnam's visit to Brazil in 1946 was unique in the wide acclaim he received in the press and in intellectual circles as the English translator of the great Brazilian literary classic *Os Sertões* by Euclides da Cunha and the works of other distinguished Brazilian authors including Jorge Amado and Gilberto Freyre. Putnam, an authority on Hispanic literature, was at that time Professor of Comparative Literature at the University of Pennsylvania. He spent 3 months in Brazil, lecturing in U.S. literature at the University of Brazil and pursuing his interest in Brazilian literature. On his arrival in Brazil he was featured on the front page of at least one Brazilian newspaper. He was one of the principal lecturers on the occasion of a special celebration honoring Euclides da Cunha. During his visit he was elected a corresponding member of the Brazilian Academy of Letters. He was subsequently awarded the distinguished $1,000 Pandia Calogeras literary prize of Brazil.

In philosophy, Irwin Edman, Professor of Philosophy at Columbia University, lectured in Mexico City in connection with a celebration in honor of William James, and at the University of Brazil; Edward Laroque Tinker lectured on the "gaucho" in American life and literature at the University of Montevideo, and before literary groups in Buenos Aires; and Stanley T. Williams, Yale University, lectured in American literature in Mexico.

Similar examples could be given regarding the work of distinguished U.S. professors and lecturers in many other fields, including the sciences, dentistry, folklore, Latin American language and literature, architectural and city planning, archeology and anthropology, library science, art, and music. Along with the established leaders in their fields, many of the younger U.S. visiting professors and lecturers also made important contributions through their cooperation with colleagues in the host countries in course work, as consultants in curriculum planning, in related professional services, and in promoting lasting academic relationships and better hemispheric understanding.

In 1943 a group of five U.S. publishers visited Colombia, Peru, Chile, Brazil and Argentina, a project stimulated by journalists from these countries who had visited the United States under the U.S. Government program. These visits contributed toward encouraging subsequent visits by U.S. publishers under the auspices of foundations or the publishers themselves. Others, including a handful of pioneers in the inter-American publishing field, long active in this work on their own initiative, were facilitated in their travel contacts by the Department and cultural officers at overseas U.S. Foreign Service posts.

Music and the performing arts were left to private initiative, to be encouraged and facilitated to the extent possible. Therefore, a cultural presentations program as such was not carried out during these years. Some visiting professors were sent to Latin American universities in these fields, and several musicians sent on shorter visits presented public concerts along with their lecture assignments. U.S. Embassies often utilized Embassy funds in modest amounts for local receptions and publicity in connection with artists under private auspices. In the larger capitals such as Buenos Aires, Rio de Janeiro, and Mexico City this activity received considerable attention from the cultural office of the U.S. Embassy and events were enthusiastically reported to the Department. For example, a report from the U.S. Embassy in Buenos Aires to the Department in September 1946 stated that "the most important American cultural event of September was the success of the American musicians as pianists, orchestra conductors, and singers. Buenos Aires this year had the biggest musical season in its history and Americans were for the first time acknowledged leaders in its success." [11]

Special summer schools were conducted in Mexico and Cuba. In the summer of 1943 the University of Texas sponsored an Extension Field School at the University of Mexico, which attracted many Mexican students interested in studying English language and the literature, culture, and institutions of the United States. The Coordinator's Office gave financial assistance, and the project was continued by the Department with a grant-in-aid of $7,150 to the University of Texas in 1944, matched by $3,750 from the university. This assistance from the Department was continued throughout the late 1940's. The Field School had a distinguished staff of U.S. professors, including Carlos Castañeda, J. Lloyd Mecham, Charles W. Hackett, and J. R. Spell of the University of Texas, George Hammond of the University of New Mexico, and James F. King of the University of California. A similar summer school project was held at the University of Havana for which grants were awarded to five U.S. professors to conduct the courses. The Texas State College for Women received a grant-in-aid from the Department in the mid-

1940's to conduct a summer school for language teachers in Saltillo, Mexico, in which some 27 U.S. Spanish language teachers and Mexican teachers and students of English language participated.

In 1947 six U.S. specialists, under a coordinated project, lectured in U.S. history, literature, art, and music at cultural centers in nine countries in South and Central America. They included Aaron Copland, the composer; the historians Arthur Aiton of the University of Michigan, Philip Powell of Northwestern University, and William B. Hesseltine of the University of Wisconsin; Dean Robert G. Caldwell of the School of Humanities of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology; and Kenneth Conant of the School of Architecture of Harvard University. Copland, for example, who included Brazil, Uruguay, and Argentina in his 3½-month visit, gave 28 lectures before 16 different organizations, 19 radio talks, and 5 concerts. Special concerts were given in his honor by the Brazilian Academy of Music, the Symphony Orchestra of Brazil in Rio, the Ministry of Culture in São Paulo, and the Servicio Oficial de Difusión Radio Eléctrica (SODRE) orchestra in Montevideo, in which his works were featured along with those of leading national composers, or in which he himself was the star performer. He conducted classes on U.S. music and composers at cultural centers.

Others were sent on short assignments to consult with colleagues and conduct surveys in their special fields to strengthen or to establish institutional ties. In 1945 Dean S. S. Steinberg of the School of Engineering of the University of Maryland made a survey of engineering schools in 10 Latin American countries, and promoted relations between professional engineering organizations including the publication of an inter-American journal of engineering to encourage the exchange of current information in the field.[12] In 1948–49 Claude Horack, dean emeritus of the Duke University Law School made a survey of 37 law schools in 16 Latin American countries to study credit equivalencies among law schools to facilitate more effective student and faculty exchanges and to further a better understanding of systems of law in the countries visited. The trip was inspired by a resolution passed at the Fifth Conference of the Inter-American Bar Association at Lima, Peru, in 1947, concerning exchanges of students and professors among the various countries in the field of law.[13]

Skuli Rutford, of the Agricultural Extension Service in Minnesota, made a survey of rural education in nine countries between Mexico and Peru. Following his return to the United States, he filled 52 speaking engagements before agricultural and other interested groups in Minnesota, North Dakota, and South Dakota. The audiences totaled over 6,000 persons. Roscoe Hill of the National Archives made a survey of national archives in Colombia, Mexico, Panama, and the Central American countries, on the basis of which he published a directory of Latin American archives.[14]

Grants to U.S. school teachers during this period were limited largely to those who taught Spanish to enable them to attend summer schools. In addition to those mentioned above, 193 language teachers from the United States attended the Summer Language Institute at the National University in Mexico in 1944 and 1945 with partial grants from the Department. There were other opportunities for them to teach English at American-sponsored schools in Latin American countries with their salaries funded in part by the Department through its grant-in-aid to the Inter-American Schools Service of the American Council on Education; this made possible a few opportunities for school teachers proficient in Portuguese to teach in such schools in Brazil. Many countries, inspired by the desire to improve English teaching to better prepare students for study in the United States and for local opportunities in private and governmental offices in which a knowledge of English was necessary, introduced English language teaching more widely in their schools. For example, in 1943, President Elie Lescot of Haiti, a strong supporter of closer Haitian-U.S. relations, was instrumental in the passage of a requirement that English language instruction be given in all Haitian schools in all grades above the fourth. Under the auspices of the Haitian Government, the U.S. Department of State, the U.S. Office of Education, and the Coordinator's Office, a group of seven English teachers from U.S. schools, including four Negro teachers, arrived in Haiti that year to help launch the program in Haitian public schools. The usefulness of these programs gave impetus to other group visits to nearby Spanish speaking countries, especially Mexico and Cuba, under nongovernment auspices, a practice which grew over the years. Unfortunately, because of travel costs, opportunities of this type were still rare exceptions in the South American countries. A few school teachers working on advanced academic degrees were able to spend a year or two of study as the recipients of grants under the Department's student program in the early 1940's.

U.S. student grantees to the Latin American countries under the Department program totaled only 75 during the entire decade of the 1940's, both under the Buenos Aires Convention and under the travel and maintenance grant program.[15] About 10 more received Government grants under the Roosevelt Scholarship program administered by the Institute of International Education with funds transferred by the Coordinator's Office. The reason for the small number is attributable to the suspension of the program for the duration of the war, beginning in 1942, because of the U.S. Government's wartime manpower needs. Whereas the grants to Latin American students continued without interruption, the program for U.S. students was not resumed until 1946.

The U.S. students who did receive grants were carefully selected under the rigorous procedures established at the beginning of the program, as described in earlier chapters.[16] A substantial number of them were Ph.D. candidates who later became well-known Latin American specialists in various disciplines on the faculties of U.S. colleges and universities. About a dozen of those who received grants between the years 1940 and 1943 are listed in the latest edition of the *National Directory of Latin Americanists*.[17] Others returned to secondary school teaching, and some entered U.S. Government service. They represented such fields as history, language and literature, music, art, government, economics, geography, anthropolgy, business administration, and tropical medicine. About 40 percent of the U.S. grantees were women during the 4 academic years in which the program was in operation in the early 1940's (1939-1940 through 1942–1943), an unusually large percentage, attributable largely to the fact that these were the peak years of U.S. participation in the war and a number of young men who otherwise might have applied for grants were called into the armed services.

In their reports most of the students faithfully responded to the Department's request that since they were the first grantees under the program their reports on all subjects could be of inestimable value to the Department and for future grantees going to the same country. They were asked to report specifically on educational institutions, courses, research facilities, living expenses, lodging accommodations, traveling conditions, and the names of persons who proved most helpful in facilitating their research. All of them, young people in their 20's, carried out their research much in the spirit of pathfinders in an untracked wilderness, reporting to the Department and the Office of Education in great detail on their activities and never failing to emphasize the contributions they hoped they were making in promoting the Good Neighbor Policy. Some of these unpublished reports long buried in the files of the Department are excellent accounts of the educational systems, student activities, archive and related research facilities, and living conditions as they were in a number of the Latin American countries in the early 1940's. In most cases what they described changed very little until the succeeding generation. Course work at universities followed irregular schedules and was generally unproductive. However, personal attention and direction from the leading scholars in the country in the various disciplines far outweighed the quality of the classes they attended, which were designed for younger, less prepared local students. Some of the local scholars who guided their research, as a result of the students' recommendations, were subsequently among those invited to the United States under the leader program.

The field work of some of the students was especially rewarding. A grantee to Brazil, for example, traveled over 1,000 miles in the northern interior of the country in carrying out his research, living for many weeks in remote Indian villages. Others had an opportunity to visit all parts of the countries to which they were assigned and to know the people at all levels of society. In the cities which were their base of operations, they engaged in such "extra curricular" activities as English language teaching and lecturing at binational cultural centers, as well as participating in student programs there. They also joined local civic organizations similar to those with which they were associated at home. Some wrote articles in their field of specialization that were published in local journals. They all felt that they had a unique opportunity to cultivate better inter-American understanding. A typical comment in correspondence and reports to the Department was "As I am able to see things here . . . it seems to me that despite the exigencies of the situation at home and abroad, there is more need than ever for a solid cultural interchange among American countries." [18]

Notes

CHAPTER XV

1. Based on statistical summaries referred to in ch. X, notes 9 and 10.
2. Gertrude G. Cameron, "Opportunities for Educational Service Abroad," *Educational Outlook*, Univ. of Pennsylvania, XXII (Mar. 1948), pp. 145–147.
3. J. Manuel Espinosa, "Exchange of Professors Between the United States and the Other American Republics," *Department of State Bulletin*, XV (July 21, 1946), pp. 89–93. The selection procedure outlined above prevailed until a more systematic procedure was needed with the initiation of Fulbright binational commission programs in Asia and Europe beginning in the fall of 1947 and the extension of the program worldwide after the passage of the Smith-Mundt Act in 1948. In Oct. 1947 the Dept. ap-

proached the Conference Board of Associated Research Councils, which represented a large sector of the U.S. academic community through the four well-known national research councils which comprised its membership. (The Conference Board of Associated Research Councils had been established in 1944 by the American Council of Learned Societies, National Research Council, and Social Science Research Council and was joined by the American Council on Education in 1946.) The Conference Board agreed to assume the responsibility for recruiting, screening, and recommending candidates for the grant opportunities under this part of the program, and the arrangement was approved by the Board of Scholarships in December 1947. Immediately thereafter, the Conference Board formed a committee to carry out these functions. Since the Department had no dollar funds to provide for the Committee's operating costs, the Committee presented a request to the Rockefeller Foundation and was successful in obtaining $40,000 for this purpose. The funds were administered by the American Council of Learned Societies. When Dept. funds became available later, after the passage of the Smith-Mundt Act, the Conference Board asked the National Research Council to assume the fiscal responsibility, since it already had an administrative staff and adequate facilities. In 1953, at the Department's request, the Conference Board accepted the added responsibility for filling lectureships under the Smith-Mundt Act in the many countries throughout the world not participating in binational commission programs under the Fulbright Act. (Elizabeth P. Lam, "The History of the Committee on the International Exchange of Persons," unpublished manuscript, 1971, ch. I, pp. 4–11, and ch. II, p. 13. The manuscript was kindly made available by the author.) In the fall of 1975, the administrative responsibilities formerly carried out by the National Research Council were assumed by the American Council on Education.

4. The following paragraphs are based largely on the monthly and semimonthly reports of the Dept. on the exchange program for the period, listed in ch. XIV, note 4.
5. *Ensayos sobre Literatura Norteamericana* (Guatemala City, Guatemala: Univ. of San Carlos, 1948).
6. *Psicologia Moderna* (São Paulo, Brazil: Livraria Agir Editoria, 1953).
7. The travel grant to Dr. Du Bois was to facilitate his acceptance of a request by the Haitian Government to lecture in Haiti. This was his first visit to Haiti. The lectures of the well-known educator and author, a crusader in the cause of Negro civil rights, were described as follows in an editorial by Dantes Bellegarde in *La Phalange*, Port-au-Prince, Sept. 13, 1944: "Dr. Du Bois, although maintaining the objectivity of the scientist, has brought to his study of American society a flaming eloquence which explains his indignation as regards certain excesses of injustice." (Desp. 237, American Embassy, Port-au-Prince, Sept. 20, 1944, NA, RG 59, 811.42738 S E/9–2044.) The previous year, in May 1943, Alain Locke, the distinguished head of the philosophy department at Howard University, lectured at the National School of Law, Port-au-Prince, under the auspices of the Committee of Artistic and Intellectual Relations between the Americas, funded by the Coordinator's Office. His lectures were published by the Haitian Government in a volume entitled *Le Role du Nègre dans la Culture des Ameriques* (Port-au-Prince: Imprimerie de l'Etat, 1943).

8. John B. and Mavis Biesanz, *Costa Rican Life* (New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1944).

9. Gottfried Haberler, *Problemas de Conjuntura e de Politica Económica* (Rio de Janerio: Fundação Getulio Vargas, 1948).

10. *Report of the Division of Cultural Relations*, Apr. 1942, p. 42.

11. "Monthly Progress Report," Division of International Exchange of Persons (IEP), Oct. 1946, p. 9. CU/H.

12. Account of his visit presented at the annual meeting of the Society for the Promotion of Engineering Education, St. Louis, Missouri, June 20-23, 1946, entitled "Engineering Education in Latin America," published in *Journal of Engineering Education*, 37 (Dec. 1946), pp. 297–309.

13. "Final Report of Dr. Claude Horack on his Survey of Latin American Law Schools . . . June 24, 1948-April 20, 1949." CU/H.

14. Roscoe R. Hill, *The National Archives of Latin America* (Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, 1945).

15. Office memorandum, Oliver J. Caldwell to Francis J. Colligan, circa early 1948. CU/H.

16. See chs. VI and VII. Under the administration of the Dept., applications from U.S. students for both Buenos Aires Convention and travel and maintenance grants were made to the Office of Education in nationwide open competition, and the grantees were selected by an Advisory Committee on Exchange of Students appointed by the Dept., composed of approximately eight members, representing universities and national educational and research organizations. Those who served on this committee in the late 1940's were recognized experts in the field, including Laurence Duggan, Director of the Institute of International Education; Waldo G. Leland, Director of the American Council of Learned Societies; and Martin R. P. McGuire, Dean of the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences of the Catholic University of America.

With the initiation of the Fulbright program, the Board of Foreign Scholarships requested the Dept. to ask the Institute of International Education to serve as the agency to conduct the national competition, and nomination of U.S. graduate student candidates, under the Fulbright program. The Institute accepted this responsibility. It obtained funds from the Rockefeller Foundation and the Carnegie Corporation for administrative costs until the Department was able to provide the funds after passage of the Smith-Mundt Act in 1948. In 1950 the Dept. transferred to the Institute the administration of such services for all U.S. graduate student exchangees under the Dept.-sponsored program. Under this arrangement the functions of the Office of Education were replaced by the Institute, which established national screening committees. The final selection of academic grantees participating the Fulbright program was the prerogative of the Board of Foreign Scholarships, as authorized in the Fulbright Act; in 1961 the Board was given this authority for selection of all academic grantees under the terms of the Fulbright-Hays Act.

17. *National Directory of Latin Americanists* (Washington, D.C.: Library of Congress, 1971).

18. Examples of student reports of special historical interest are those submitted to the Dept. between 1941 and 1943 from Barbara B. Hadley and Clifton Brooke McIntosh, grantees to Brazil; Francesca J. Warnecke and Virginia L. Lamm, grantees to Guatemala; Lucie Adams and Don H. Walther, grantees to Costa Rica; and Margaret Virginia Campbell, grantee to Chile. Needless to say, in addition to their general informational content, the reports provided useful data on the many problems confronted by the student, especially the inadequacy of grants in meeting local living expenses. In most of the capitals housing was at a premium because of the influx of wartime U.S. Government and business representatives and delays in receiving expected stipends from the host government, which, when received, turned out to be far below what was expected. Through their own ingenuity and persistence the students usually located a pension or private home with the basic facilities that enabled them to make ends meet. A few, through the families or friends of Latin American students with whom they had become close friends in the United States, or through the good offices of faculty advisers with established personal contacts in the host country, found comfortable housing within their financial means. (U.S. Student Grantee Reports, 1941–1943, O/FADRC, 63a 217, Box 296; CU/H.)

Afterword

During the decade which marked the beginnings of the State Department's educational and cultural relations program (1938 to 1948), approximately 3,000 university professors, influential leaders and specialists in many fields, school teachers, and graduate students traveled to and from the United States and the Latin American countries as the recipients of grants under the program.[1] In addition, under the cooperative programs of other U.S. Government agencies which were members of the Department's Interdepartmental Committee on Scientific and Cultural Cooperation, about 1,700 U.S. Government technicians were sent to the Latin American countries and 2,000 younger scientists and technicians were brought to the United States for specialized training in Government agencies.[2] Concurrently, the Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs, created as a war emergency agency during World War II, brought over 3,000 specialists in technical fields for training in the United States, awarded grants to several hundred educators and journalists for exchange visits, and mounted a massive inter-American public relations effort.

The pioneer inter-American cultural relations program of the Department, pursuing its central long-range goal of mutual understanding through firsthand, person-to-person communication between the people of the United States and those of other countries, opened a new road to international understanding. It established the basic policies and patterns which, in the following decades, have governed the Department-sponsored educational and cultural program as it has been extended worldwide.

The unique significance of these person-to-person relationships lies in the fact that all the participants, when they return home, act as "witnesses" to what they have experienced and interpret that firsthand experience to their fellow countrymen in terms which they can best understand. Interchange of persons has the advantage of direct communication through personal contact. The U.S. Advisory Commission on Educational Exchange stated in the spring of 1949:

> "The firm friendship between the United States and the other American republics is due in part to the individual friends

> that we and the Latin American countries have made through the exchange of persons program. By exchanging representative individuals, the United States and the other countries have given each other a chance to know the good and the bad about each other."[3]

The decade and a half following the enunciation of the Good Neighbor Policy was the greatest opportunity in recent decades for forging a solid partnership in the Americas based on mutual cooperation and confidence. But worldwide political and ideological issues after the war threw formidable obstacles into the path. In facing these forces there is no doubt that the network of person-to-person and institution-to-institution relationships, cultivated by the educational and cultural elements in the various countries of the hemisphere and the result of many decades of activity, as we have seen, was an important factor in keeping alive the basic spirit of a hemispheric family. By faithfully pursuing its original purposes and goals, the educational and cultural program of the Department, amidst all the forces of propaganda inherent in the heat of a war for survival, established lasting ties. But the spirit of friendship and cooperation that had been engendered could not be expected to increase and prosper without effort. A leader grantee from Chile under the Department's program spoke in 1943 of "this splendid partnership of our American peoples and our American spirit."[4] Another, a distinguished constitutional lawyer and specialist in Indian affairs of Ecuador, a leader grantee in 1944, observed: "The thing which is still to be determined precisely is whether the Good Neighbor Policy between the North Americans and the Indo-Americans is a permanent international relationship . . . or whether it is simply a circumstantial relationship."[5]

Great expectations were soon chilled by the rivalry between the United States and the Soviet Union that opened a decade of cold war with all its ideological obstacles to confidence and certainty on the part of friend and foe alike. The intensification of the cold war in the late 1940's cast its shadow over our relations with the Latin American countries on through the 1950's.[6] Old suspicions and misunderstandings were revived in a new form in a number of these countries.

In the Departmental reorganization of 1952 the word "education" disappeared completely from the title of the organization within which the exchange program operated, which up to that time was the International Information and Educational Exchange Program. It was now called the International Information Administration, with five functional services. Of these five, the one responsible for administering the exchange-of-persons program became the International

Educational Exchange Service. As in the years immediately preceding the passage of the Smith-Mundt Act, a large part of the academic and cultural community in the United States took issue with what they considered a significant departure from what they understood to be the established Department policy of making a clear distinction between "propaganda" and "educational and cultural exchange." In 1953, after an extensive investigation by the Congress and the executive branch, the overseas information services were removed from the Department and established as an independent arm of the executive branch, the U.S. Information Agency. Under this arrangement, the officers that administered the exchange-of-persons program overseas and the overseas binational centers, libraries, and book exchange programs, closely connected over the years with the exchange-of-persons program, were placed under the responsibility of the separate information agency.

In the course of these developments, pressures were great from some quarters to use the exchange program as an instrument to combat the Soviet Union's internationally organized anti-U.S. propaganda campaign. In this atmosphere Senator Joseph R. McCarthy, Chairman of the Senate Committee on Government Operations, alleged that the Department was infested with Communists, and charged that some of the recipients of grants under the exchange program were Communists or Communist sympathizers. His staff badgered the Department for data on U.S. grantees and delved into the history of their views and personal associations. It requested and received from the International Educational Exchange Service a massive amount of data on the grantee screening and selection process, including the names and positions of members of the committees and individuals involved in the United States and in every participating country abroad. These inquiries were a part of a Government-wide investigation in which a number of innocent persons were viciously assailed. But ultimately the Senator himself was censured by his Senate colleagues and discredited.

In the mid-1950's, the Assistant Secretary for Public Affairs and his immediate office were largely preoccupied with cold war problems, and the International Educational Exchange Service administered the exchange program with a considerable degree of independence. It was a period of remarkable growth and expansion. The program remained under the Assistant Secretary for Public Affairs until the late 1950's. Then, following several interim administrative arrangements, in 1961 a separate bureau was established in the Department, the Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs, under its own Assistant Secretary of State.

While these changes were taking place, the spotlight of the U.S. Government was no longer on Latin America. The decade of the 1950's saw three unique developments in the program: the extension worldwide of the types of exchanges initiated earlier with the Latin American countries; the rapid growth of the academic exchange program under the Fulbright Act; and the peak period of the largest single U.S. exchange program with another country either before or since that time—the special postwar "educational reorientation" program with Germany.[7] A most important factor in preserving the original purpose and character of the Department's exchange program during the critical cold war years was the educational exchange program under the Fulbright binational commissions.[8] By 1960, binational Fulbright programs were in operation in over 40 countries. These programs were uniquely binational and long-range in character.

Dollar funds appropriated by Congress for the worldwide program under the Smith-Mundt Act were spread each year among many areas of the world, and at first the official exchange program with Latin America suffered in the size of its share of the annual budgets. But by the mid-1950's there were new opportunities and sources of funding for the educational and cultural exchange program with Latin American countries. Three countries in Latin America, Brazil, Uruguay, and Bolivia, were the first to benefit from the congressional authorization in 1954 for the sending of cultural presentations abroad. Binational commission programs under the U.S. Government's Fulbright program were established in Chile, Peru, Brazil, Argentina, Ecuador, Colombia, Paraguay, and Uruguay between 1955 and 1960. These programs had their sources of foreign currency funding from an amendment to the Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act of 1954 (Public Law 480, 83d Congress), which authorized the use of funds accruing from the sale of surplus agricultural commodities for financing programs as authorized in the Fulbright Act. At about the same time there was a surge of privately sponsored "people-to-people" exchanges worldwide which continued to grow in magnitude each year.

In 1959, Congress specified that no less than $4.6 million be used for the exchange program with the Latin American countries. This represented a $2 million increase in appropriated funds. On the political scene, a sad note, following these encouraging developments, was the termination of the exchange program with Cuba in 1960, with the break in diplomatic relations, dimming a long heritage of close cultural ties.

In the fall of 1961 new legislation, the "Mutual Educational and Cultural Exchange Act of 1961" (the Fulbright-Hays Act, Public

Law 256, 87th Congress), the authority under which the program is now administered, broadened and strengthened the program worldwide. Congressional appropriations and Department-sponsored exchange activities grew annually. In 1962 a major reorganization in the Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs realigned its offices along geographic rather than functional lines, resulting in a sharper focus in shaping area and country programs and policies.

During the early and mid-1960's the exchange program with Latin America responded to the goals of the Alliance for Progress: cooperation to further social, economic, educational and cultural "development." The total U.S. Government, private foundation, other private agency, and international agency programs in the area of educational and cultural interchange, through person-to-person, university and other institutional linkages, represented an unprecedented peak of expanding inter-American activity. Great impetus was given to the entire enterprise by the large-scale financial support provided for Alliance programs by the U.S. Government's Agency for International Development, which made possible a massive expansion of the types of programs developed by the Interdepartmental Committee on Scientific and Cultural Cooperation and the Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs in the 1940's.[9]

Under the Department's program, while approximately 5,000 grantees came to the United States from Latin American countries during the period 1949 to 1960, those who came during the period from 1961 to 1967 totaled over 15,400. At the same time, while approximately 1,000 U.S. grantees went to Latin America from 1949 to 1960, the total for the following 7 years was about 2,800. As in the beginning, students, professors, teachers, and influential leaders in all sectors of public life continued to be the elements of society most directly involved.

With the passage of the International Education Act of 1966, there were great expectations for a large increase in U.S. Government funding for international studies and research. But the Viet-Nam war and domestic problems drastically affected the budget priorities of the President and Congress, and no funds were appropriated to carry out the terms of the Act. Private foundations took cognizance of this and also shifted their budget priorities. Further beset by inflation, a number of colleges and universities with long-established foreign area and language study programs found it necessary to cut back their activities. The State Department's educational and cultural exchange budget diminished each year from its peak in 1965 to 1969, its lowest level in the last half of the 1960's. Since that time the level has climbed, and the program in all areas of the world has benefited accordingly.

Before the close of the 1960's, international diplomacy was moving into a much more complex era of interrelated domestic and international concerns. With the peoples and nations of the world becoming increasingly interdependent day by day, the scope of diplomacy continued to expand. The State Department's exchange program responded accordingly. Informal person-to-person relationships continued to play an increasingly significant role in advancing cooperative international relations. Despite the shifting international scene since the time that the Department first initiated this long-range experiment to strengthen the bonds of friendship and mutual understanding with her Latin American neighbors, and the changing climates of opinion to which cross-cultural education has always been highly responsive, the basic assumptions as formulated in the late 1930's and early 1940's continued to govern the conduct of the Department-sponsored exchange program.

The Fulbright-Hays Act, the current congressional authorization for carrying out the program states:

> "The purpose of this Act is to enable the Government of the United States to increase mutual understanding between the people of the United States and the people of other countries by means of educational and cultural exchange; to strengthen the ties which unite us with other nations by demonstrating the educational and cultural interests, developments, and achievement of the people of the United States and other nations, and the contributions being made toward a peaceful and more fruitful life to people throughout the world; to promote international cooperation for educational and cultural advancement; and thus to assist in the development of friendly, sympathetic, and peaceful relations between the United States and the other countries of the world."

Senator J. William Fulbright defined the goals of the program in the following terms:

> "If intercultural exchange is to advance these aims—of perception and perspective, of empathy and the humanizing of international relations—it cannot be treated as a conventional instrument of a nation's foreign policy. Most emphatically, it cannot be treated as a propaganda program designed to 'improve the image' of a country or to cast its current policies in a favorable light. Such exchanges can be regarded as an instrument of foreign policy only in the sense that the cultivation of international perception and perspective is—or ought to be—an important long-term objective of the foreign policy of any country aware of its true national interests as inescapably encompassing regional and international self-interest."[10]

The State Department's Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs (CU), in summarizing its concepts and goals for the 1970's, stated: "CU-sponsored programs are designed to strengthen patterns of informal two-way communication in ways which will favorably influence relations between the United States and other countries and help build the human foundations of the structure of peace." [11]

Notes

AFTERWORD

1. *Trading Ideas with the World—International Educational and Technical Exchange*. Report of the United States Advisory Commission on Educational Exchange, Mar. 31, 1949 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1949), p. 24.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 10. The U.S. Government effort during the war years included in addition, as noted earlier, several hundred exchanges with other areas of the world financed by the President's Emergency Fund and the Office of War Information.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 24.
4. *Report of Division of Cultural Relations*, Feb. 1943, p. 17.
5. Donald M. Dozer, *Are We Good Neighbors? Three Decades of Inter-American Relations, 1930–1960* (Gainesville: Univ. of Florida Press, 1959), p. 149.
6. Benton's statements in the Hearings before the Committee on Foreign Affairs, House of Representatives, 79th Cong., 1st and 2d sess., on H.R. 4368 . . . Oct. 16–19, 23, 24, 1945, and on H.R. 4982, May 14, 1946 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1946); "America—A Full and Fair Picture," Office of Public Affairs, Dept. of State, revised edition, No. 20, Jan. 1947; "Launching the Campaign of Truth," Sixth Semi-Annual Report of the Secretary of State to Congress on the International Information and Educational Exchange Program, July 1-Dec. 31, 1950, Dept. of State, Dec. 1951; William C. Johnstone, Jr., "The Educational Exchange Program—An Integral Part of the Campaign of Truth," *Department of State Bulletin* [hereinafter cited as *Bulletin*], XXIV (Jan. 1, 1951), pp. 20–24.
7. For the facts and figures on the program from the 1950's onward, the basic printed sources are the semiannual and annual reports to Congress on the exchange program from the Department of State, the U.S. Advisory Commission on Educational Exchange and its successor the U.S. Advisory Commission on International Educational and Cultural Affairs, and the Board of Foreign Scholarships; the *Bulletin*; and the congressional hearings on the Department's annual budget requests, both in the House and the Senate, all published by the U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. For a useful descriptive survey of the program from 1948 to 1958, see Lawrence D. Schulman, *United States Government Educational, Literary, and Artistic Cultural Exchange Programs, 1948–1958, As a Technique of American Diplomacy*. Ph. D. dissertation, New York Univ., 1965 (Ann Arbor, Mich.: Univ. Microfilms, Inc., 1974).

8. The initial operating criteria and procedures for the Fulbright program were formulated by the Board of Foreign Scholarships with guidance from its secretariat, officers of the Division of International Exchange of Persons of the Dept., "on the basis of its experience in administering the exchange of persons program with the other American republics." ("Proceedings of the First Meeting of the Board of Foreign Scholarships, Oct. 8–9, 1947," Operations Staff, Board of Foreign Scholarships, Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs, Dept. of State.) The basic concept and binational structure of the Fulbright program, however, were unique. See Donald B. Cook and J. Paul Smith, "The Philosophy of the Fulbright Programme," *International Social Science Bulletin*, UNESCO, Paris, VIII, No. 4, 1956, pp. 615–628; and Walter Johnson and Francis J. Colligan, *The Fulbright Program: A History* (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1965), pp. 20, 24–25, 39–53.
9. On the domestic scene, congressional funds for programs under Title VI of the National Defense Education Act of 1958, administered by the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, provided an important stimulus and support for Spanish and Portuguese language study and Latin American area studies in the United States. These and private sources of funds decreased drastically beginning in the mid-1960's. By that time, however, bilateral U.S. Government funding agencies, private foundations, and inter-American and international funding organizations were supporting a network of cooperative inter-American educational programs on a scale unprecedented in inter-American relations, building two-way, person-to-person, and institution-to-institution relationships in many ways. The Organization of American States has played a major, continuing role in the advancement of a number of these activities, especially through its special scientific, educational, and cultural programs, following the meeting of the presidents of the American republics held at Punta del Este, Uruguay, Apr. 12–14, 1967.
10. *Congressional Record*, vol. 120, No. 179, Dec. 19, 1974, pt. II, p. 5—22394.
11. "The CU Program Concept," Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs, Department of State, Mar. 12, 1974, and June 29, 1976.

APPENDIX I

Letter From Secretary Hull to Ben M. Cherrington Inviting Him To Be the First Chief of the Division of Cultural Relations

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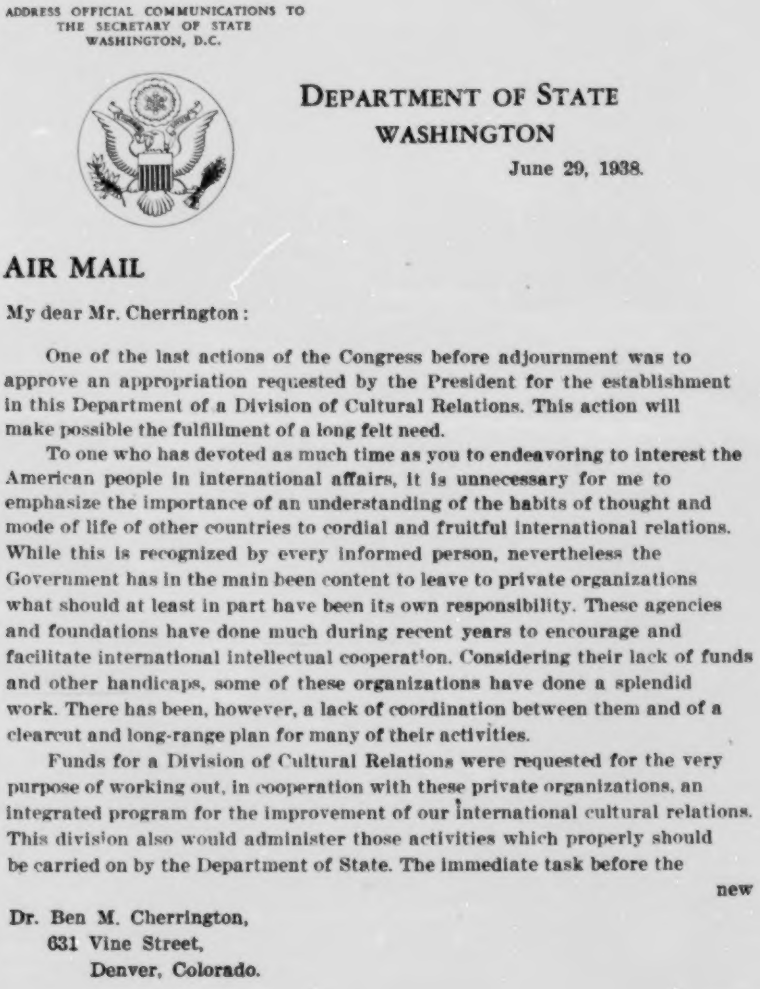

ADDRESS OFFICIAL COMMUNICATIONS TO
THE SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

June 29, 1938.

AIR MAIL

My dear Mr. Cherrington:

One of the last actions of the Congress before adjournment was to approve an appropriation requested by the President for the establishment in this Department of a Division of Cultural Relations. This action will make possible the fulfillment of a long felt need.

To one who has devoted as much time as you to endeavoring to interest the American people in international affairs, it is unnecessary for me to emphasize the importance of an understanding of the habits of thought and mode of life of other countries to cordial and fruitful international relations. While this is recognized by every informed person, nevertheless the Government has in the main been content to leave to private organizations what should at least in part have been its own responsibility. These agencies and foundations have done much during recent years to encourage and facilitate international intellectual cooperation. Considering their lack of funds and other handicaps, some of these organizations have done a splendid work. There has been, however, a lack of coordination between them and of a clearcut and long-range plan for many of their activities.

Funds for a Division of Cultural Relations were requested for the very purpose of working out, in cooperation with these private organizations, an integrated program for the improvement of our international cultural relations. This division also would administer those activities which properly should be carried on by the Department of State. The immediate task before the

new

Dr. Ben M. Cherrington,
631 Vine Street,
Denver, Colorado.

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new division will be to stimulate cultural interchange with the other American countries. The Good Neighbor policy has not only removed the suspicion and distrust which those countries held concerning our political and economic intentions, but has placed relations between the United States and those countries on the most cordial basis that has existed since the days when they were seeking their independence. However, if this policy is to be of lasting significance it must be bulwarked by an appreciation by those countries of the spiritual and intellectual values in this country, as well as by an understanding by the American people of the cultural achievements of their southern neighbors.

Considerable thought has already been given as to the most appropriate and effective ways in which the new division can attain this end. One way would be through the Convention for the Promotion of Inter-American Cultural Relations, which was adopted at the Buenos Aires Conference in 1936. This convention, a copy of which is enclosed, already has been ratified by the United States and by two of the other American Republics. It provides that each year each contracting party will award fellowships in some one of its universities to two graduate students or teachers from each other American country ratifying the convention, and will receive an exchange professor from each of the contracting parties who will lecture and teach in appropriate institutions of learning. If all countries ratify this convention it would mean that every year the United States would receive forty students and twenty professors from the other American countries and would send an equal number to those countries.

The administration of this convention will rest with the new division. It will be the function of the division to prepare the panels of names of graduate students or teachers on the one hand, and professors on the other hand to be sent to the other countries, to conduct all correspondence with foreign governments, including the transmission of the panels of this country and the receipt of panels from the other countries, as well as all correspondence with educational institutions and persons in this country, and to collaborate with the National Committee on Inter-American Intellectual Cooperation and its Executive Committee, to be established, in the general administration of this convention. It is hoped that this Executive Committee will be a functioning organization, not a paper one, and that it will formulate the panels to be sent to foreign countries in consultation with the division as well as to select the names from the panels submitted by the other countries, again in consultation with the division.

Another function of the division will be to promote unofficial exchanges of professors, teachers and students by encouraging foundations, and colleges and universities to establish fellowships and scholarships. Although a great many specific fellowships and scholarships have already been established to enable students from Europe to study in the United States, and vice versa, there are only a handful of these for the other American countries. In view of the interest that has been recently stimulated in this country concerning our southern neighbors, it would seem possible greatly to augment the number of fellowships and scholarships available for them.

It

It will likewise be the function of the division to encourage the establishment of small representative libraries in the several American countries. The Carnegie Endowment for International Peace already has donated a number of collections of books to universities and other organizations in the other American republics. Not only could these existing collections be enlarged, but useful donations could be made to a number of universities and organizations which, while desirous of having small representative libraries, have been financially unable to afford the expense of purchasing the relatively expensive books of the United States. Here again it is hoped that the interest of the foundations can be enlisted as well as of such organizations as the American Library Association which could be extremely helpful in making the selection of representative books.

The high cost of American books and the lack of translations has frequently been brought to the Department's attention by persons interested in increasing knowledge in the other American countries of the United States. It would seem that the division could well explore the possibility of arranging for the translation of outstanding works of every category, as well as the possibility of publishing cheap editions of American books. Certain studies are now under way with regard to these possibilities, but these investigations are under private auspices. The new division would wish to interest itself in these problems.

One of the most effective means of diffusing knowledge about the United States has been through the cultural institutes which already have been established in several countries. The Argentine-North American Cultural Institute, founded some ten years ago, has done a magnificent work in increasing understanding in the Argentine of the life and culture of the United States. It has brought lecturers from the United States, it has given courses of all kinds regarding the United States, last year to some six thousand persons, it has built up a fine library, it has persuaded the bookstores in Buenos Aires to carry a representative line of American books, and in general it has served as a center for all Argentines who desire to learn of the civilization of the United States. Cooperation with this Institute on behalf of this Government will hereafter be carried on by the new division.

Immediately after the Buenos Aires Conference a similar institute was established in Rio de Janeiro and recently steps have been taken to set up similar institutes in Lima, Peru, and Santiago de Chile. Although the initiative in establishing these institutes has properly been taken by the citizens of the several countries themselves, it would seem an entirely legitimate function for this Government through the new division to lend them encouragement and assistance in order that they may be firmly established and become vital and worthwhile organizations.

These are only a few of the more obvious functions that the new division should perform to bring about real appreciation in the other American republics of the United States. Every day there come to my attention many projects of a worthwhile character to which the Department has heretofore been unable to give adequate attention, or which require more

planning

planning and organization than the Department has been able to give. For instance, only recently the Government of Colombia requested this Goverment to send to the celebration of the four hundredth anniversary of the founding of the City of Bogotá a representative collection of American art. The Department was most anxious to accede to this request, but upon looking into the matter found that the necessary arrangements could not be made for lack of foresight and organization prior to the celebration and therefore was unable to accept the invitation. You can well imagine the impression that a really well selected exhibition would have upon the Colombians, many of whom have been encouraged to look upon our civilization as mechanical and machinelike, devoid of deep feeling, of artistic inspiration, in short, of a soul.

I have not touched upon the broad field of radio broadcasting because government policy has not yet been formulated. Last winter at the President's request there was established an Interdepartmental Radio Committee for the purpose of investigating the radio broadcasting activities of foreign governments in the other American Republics and the broadcasting now being carried on by private American companies, and of recommending the steps, if any, which our Government should take in order to make more effective use of the exceedingly important medium of radio broadcasting. An immense amount of data has been compiled and collated. The preliminary studies have been made and are now under revision in order to include certain additional data which the President desired. Pending determination of government policy, the private companies have indicated their readiness to prepare and broadcast programs which are believed by the Government to be of a type calculated to improve relations. So far the Department has not been in a position to take advantage of this offer, but hopes that the new division will be able to do what it can to improve the type of program at present being put on the air to the other American countries by United States stations. If on the advice of the President the Congress should determine to establish a Government station for this purpose, it would appear that the new division would probably have considerable to do with the formulation of the general policies of that station.

There is just as much, if not more, to be done by the new division within the United States. As you know, our people have only a vague and misty conception, often a misconception, of our southern neighbors. This situation must be rectified, and rectified quickly. For this, the active interest and wholehearted cooperation of public and private agencies must be enlisted. This will be the task of the new division. It will involve cooperation with our schools, colleges and universities, foundations, clubs, institutes, in fact, every kind of public or private agency performing educational functions. It is my belief, based upon the daily evidence received here of a growing interest in the other American republics, that it will not prove difficult to secure the cooperation necessary for a truly effective program.

The President and myself would be greatly gratified if you would

accept

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accept the direction of this division which both of us consider as having very far-reaching possibilities under imaginative and proper leadership. We know of your interest in international affairs, and have been both impressed and appreciative of the fine work you have been doing as Director of the Community Program of Education in International Understanding at Denver. The remuneration of this position will be $8,000 a year.

I know that you have many responsibilities to consider, but would appreciate hearing from you at the earliest possible moment as to whether you will accept this position. If, as I hope, your reply is in the affirmative, I would appreciate your arranging to come to Washington as soon as possible for a preliminary talk regarding the proposed functions of the new division, its personnel, et cetera. This would have the advantage of enabling you to be giving thought to the best lines of procedure during the time that you are winding up your affairs in Denver.

Sincerely yours,

Cordell Hull

Enclosure:
Convention for the
Promotion of Inter-
American Cultural
Relations.

(Copy in CU/H)

APPENDIX II

U. S. Cultural Officers in Latin America, 1941–1948[1]

Country	*Year*	*Name*	*Position Prior to Assignment*
Argentina	1941–42	John F. Griffiths	Instructor in Spanish, Univ. of Southern Calif.
		Dr. Glenn R. Barr	Professor of Modern Languages in U.S. and Uruguayan universities
	1942–44	Dr. Hayward Keniston	Head, Dept. of Romance Languages, Univ. of Michigan
		Dr. Asher N. Christensen	Professor of Political Science, Univ. of Minnesota
	1945–46	Morrill Cody	American Embassy, Paraguay
	1947–48	Dr. Albert B. Franklin	American Embassy, Cuba
Bolivia	1942–45	Charles Wood Collier	U.S. Bureau of Indian Affairs
	1945–46	Juan de Zengotita	Foreign Service officer
	1946–47	Garth P. James[1]	Writer and editor, Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs
	1948–49	Lee M. Hunsaker[1]	Foreign Service Staff officer
Brazil	1941–43	Joseph S. Piazza (Rio de Janeiro)	Headmaster of the American School, Rio de Janeiro
	1943–44	Dr. William Rex Crawford (Rio de Janeiro)	Professor of Sociology, Univ. of Pennsylvania
	1943	Roy Nash (São Paulo, Porto Alegre)	U.S. Bureau of Indian Affairs, author of *The Conquest of Brazil*
	1944–45	Dr. Carleton Sprague Smith (São Paulo, Rio de Janeiro) Roy Nash (Rio de Janeiro)	Lecturer, Columbia Univ., music critic, and visiting professor at Brazilian universities American Consulates, São Paulo, Porto Alegre
	1945–46	Seaver K. Gilchreast[1] (Porto Alegre)	Chairman, Dept. of Romance Languages, Univ. of Buffalo

See footnotes at end of table.

U. S. Cultural Officers in Latin America, 1941–1948 [1]—Continued

Country	*Year*	*Name*	*Position Prior to Assignment*
Brazil—Con.	1946–47	Seaver K. Gilchreast (Rio de Janeiro)	American Consulate, Porto Alegre
		Henry H. Carter [1] (São Paulo)	Foreign Service Reserve officer
		Dr. Raul d'Eça [1] (Pernambuco, Rio de Janeiro)	Former Professor of Latin American History, George Washington Univ.; Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs; Dept. of State
Chile	1942–44	Dr. Lawrence Kinnaird	Professor of Latin American History, Univ. of Calif. (Berkeley)
	1944–45	Philip W. Thayer	Former Professor of Law, Harvard Univ.; U.S. Government official
	1946–47	Heath Bowman [1]	Editor and writer, Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs; U.S. Navy
Colombia	1941–44	Herschel Brickell (First Appointee)	Literary editor and critic, newspaper correspondent, author
	1944–45	Dr. Albert H. Gerberich	American Embassy, Costa Rica
	1945–47	John Wilson Campbell [1]	Office of Censorship; Foreign Service Auxiliary
	1947–49	Dr. Jacob Canter [1]	American Embassy, Nicaragua
Costa Rica	1941–44	Dr. Albert H. Gerberich	Professor of Modern Languages, Dickinson College
	1945–47	Albert E. Carter [1]	Editor and writer, International Information Division, Office of Public Information, Dept. of State

See footnotes at end of table.

U. S. Cultural Officers in Latin America, 1941–1948 [1]—Continued

Country	*Year*	*Name*	*Position Prior to Assignment*
Cuba	1944–46	Dr. John T. Reid	Professor of Romance Languages, Duke Univ.; Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs
	1947	Dr. Albert B. Franklin [1]	American Embassy, Uruguay
	1947–48	Dr. John A. Hamilton [1]	American Embassy, Dominican Republic
Dominican Republic	1941–44	W. Tapley Bennett, Jr.	Lawyer; Junior Economic Analyst, Dept. of State
	1945–47	John A. Hamilton [1]	Professor of Romance Languages, Converse College
Ecuador	1942–44	Dr. Francis J. Colligan	Professor of English, Univ. of San Francisco
	1944–45	Dr. Dominic de la Salandra	Professor of Latin American History, St. Louis Univ.
	1947–48	Francis W. Herron [1]	Journalist; Foreign Service Staff officer
El Salvador	1942–44	Richard T. Smyth	Representative of U.S. publishing house
	1945–46	Overton G. Ellis, Jr.	Foreign Service officer
	1946–47	Owen R. Hutchinson [1]	Journalist, Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs
	1948–50	Francis W. Herron [1]	American Embassy, Ecuador
Guatemala	1941–45	Dr. Robert S. Chamberlain	Archeologist, research in Guatemala and Mexico
	1946–47	Rodolfo O. Rivera	American Embassy, Nicaragua
	1947–50	John Alfred Barrett [1]	Radio and motion picture specialist, Office of International Information and Cultural Affairs, Dept. of State

See footnotes at end of table.

U. S. Cultural Officers in Latin America, 1941–1948 [1]—Continued

Country	*Year*	*Name*	*Position Prior to Assignment*
Haiti	1942–45	Horace D. Ashton	Specialist in educational motion pictures; editor of screen magazine
	1946–47	Maurice D. Needham [1]	Information specialist, Dept. of Agriculture
	1947–50	John W. Campbell [1]	American Embassy, Colombia
Honduras	1941–43	Robert E. Whedbee	Economic Analyst, American Embassy, Honduras
	1945–48	James K. Webb, Jr.[1]	Teacher of Spanish in U.S. high schools
Mexico	1942–44	Dr. Charles H. Stevens	Professor of Romance Languages, Rutgers Univ.
	1945	Walter Washington	Foreign Service officer
	1946–47	Morrill Cody	American Embassy, Argentina
	1948–51	Philip Raine	Assistant Chief, Latin American Area Division, Bureau of Public Affairs, Dept. of State
Nicaragua	1941–43	William W. Marvel	Graduate student, National Univ. of Mexico
	1943–46	Rodolfo O. Rivera	American Library Association; American Council of Learned Societies
	1946–47	Dr. Jacob Canter [1]	Professor of Modern Languages, U.S. Naval Academy
Panama	1943	Heyward G. Hill	Foreign Service officer
	1945–46	Frederick W. Latimer	Foreign Service officer
	1947–48	Owen R. Hutchinson [1]	Foreign Service officer
Paraguay	1941–45	Morrill Cody	Editor and publisher
	1945–46	Dr. Robert D. Howard	Office of Wartime Economic Affairs, Dept. of State
	1947–48	Thomas G. Allen [1]	Division of International Exchange of Persons, Dept. of State.

See footnotes at end of table.

U. S. Cultural Officers in Latin America, 1941–1948 [1]—Continued

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Country	*Year*	*Name*	*Position Prior to Assignment*
Peru	1941	Albert A. Giesecke [2]	Educator; former rector, Univ. of Cuzco
	1943–44	Dr. George Vaillant	Director of the Univ. Museum, Univ. of Pennsylvania; author of *The Aztecs of Mexico*, etc.
	1944–46	Dr. Howard L. Nostrand	Professor of Romance Languages, Univ. of Washington
	1947–50	D. Eugene Delgado-Arias [1]	American Embassy, Venezuela
Uruguay	1941–42	Charles A. Page	Former Foreign Service officer; Asst. to Lt. Governor of Calif.
	1942	Dr. Glenn R. Barr	American Embassy, Argentina
	1943–46	Dr. Albert B. Franklin	Professor of Romance Languages, Univ. of Maryland
	1947–48	Rodolfo O. Rivera [1]	American Embassy, Guatemala
Venezuela	1942–47	D. Eugene Delgado-Arias [1]	Director, Venezuelan-American Cultural Center

[1] Beginning July 1, 1946, officers assigned to supervise both information media and cultural activities of the Dept. of State abroad were given the title Public Affairs Officer or Assistant Public Affairs Officer. Those with these designations who served as the principal cultural officer at U.S. Foreign Service posts are marked with superior figure [1]. In some cases an incumbent previously serving with the title of Cultural Officer was redesignated with one of the above titles.

[2] An American long resident in Peru, he served as cultural adviser in the Embassy through the 1940's.

APPENDIX III

Chronological Outline of the Organization and Ranking Officers of CU

1938	Division of Cultural Relations (RC) [1]	
	Ben M. Cherrington, Chief	1938–40
	Charles A. Thomson, Chief	1940–44
1944	Division of Science, Education, and Art (SEA) [2]	
	Charles A. Thomson, Chief	1944
	Division of Cultural Cooperation (CU)	
	Charles A. Thomson, Acting Chief	1944
	Bryn J. Hovde, Chief	1944–45
	Raymund L. Zwemer, Acting Chief	1945
1945	Interim International Information Service (IIIS) established, to which were transferred overseas information activities of the Office of War Information (OWI) and the Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs (CIAA). (Beginning of a closer merging of the administration of educational and cultural exchange activities with information media activities.)	
1946–47	Office of International Information and Cultural Affairs (OIC) [3]	
	William T. Stone, Director	1946–47
	Kenneth Holland, Assistant Director for Cultural Affairs	1947
	Division of International Exchange of Persons (IEP)	
	Herschel Brickell, Chief	1946–47
1947	Office of International Information and Educational Exchange (OIE)	
	William T. Stone, Director	1947–48
	Kenneth Holland, Assistant Director for Cultural Affairs	1947–48
	Francis J. Colligan, Acting Chief, IEP	1947–48
1948	Pursuant to the Smith-Mundt Act, 1948, the program was reorganized into two offices, the Office of Educational Exchange (OEX) and the Office of International Information (OII). Of the five functional Divisions under the previous organizational structure (OIC, and later OIE), the Division of International Exchange of Persons (IEP) and the Division of Libraries and Institutes (ILI) were placed under OEX. The Office of International In-	

See footnotes at end of table.

	formation (OII) was assigned Press and Publications, Broadcasting, and Motion Pictures.	
	Office of Educational Exchange (OEX)[4]	
	William C. Johnstone, Director	1948–52
	Francis J. Colligan, Chief, IEP	1949–52
1952	International Information Administration (IIA)[5]	
	Wilson Compton, Administrator	1952
	Robert L. Johnson, Administrator	1953
	International Educational Exchange Service (IES)[6]	
	Russell L. Riley, Assistant Administrator	1952
1953	IIA activities, except IES, transferred to the new U.S. Information Agency (USIA). IES and staff of UNESCO National Commission in Bureau of Public Affairs. Overseas administration of exchange program assigned to USIA.[7]	
	Russell L. Riley, Director, IES	1953–58
1958	Robert H. Thayer named Special Assistant to the Secretary of State for International Cultural Relations. The following year named special Assistant to the Secretary for Coordination of International Educational and Cultural Relations; later in the year the Bureau of International Cultural Relations (CU) was established, responsible for exchange programs and related functions, including UNESCO staff, transferred from the Bureau of Public Affairs to CU.	
1960	CU reorganized and named Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs. During the period 1959–61 Saxton E. Bradford was Deputy Director of the Bureau.	
	Donald D. Edgar, Director, IES	1958–59
1961	Philip H. Coombs appointed first Assistant Secretary of State for Educational and Cultural Affairs (CU)	1961–62
1962	Lucius D. Battle, Assistant Secretary of State (CU)[8]	1962–64
1964	Harry C. McPherson, Assistant Secretary of State (CU)	1964–65
1965	Arthur W. Hummel, Jr., Acting Assistant Secretary of State (CU)	1965 (Feb.–Aug.)
1965	Charles Frankel, Assistant Secretary of State (CU)	1965–67
1968	Edward D. Re, Assistant Secretary of State (CU)	1968–69
1969	Jacob Canter, Acting Assistant Secretary of State (CU)	1969 (Jan.–June)
1969	John Richardson, Jr., Assistant Secretary of State (CU)[9]	1969–

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[1] From 1938 to mid-1943 the Division was under the direct supervision of Under Secretary of State Sumner Welles, through the Assistant Secretary of State responsible for administrative and budget matters. The Office of American Republics Affairs played a central role in program policy matters. The Under Secretary served as Chairman of the Interdepartmental Committee from 1938 to 1943. In 1945 the program was under the supervision of the Assistant Secretary

Footnotes—Continued

of State for Public and Cultural Relations Archibald MacLeish. Following his incumbency, the title was changed to Assistant Secretary of State for Public Affairs.

[2] In the first 1944 reorganization creating SEA, media activities (motion pictures, radio, and the Information Unit of Current Information Liaison) were placed in a separate newly created division—the Motion Picture and Radio Division. With the second 1944 reorganization creating CU, the media division became the International Information Division. Responsibility for the exchange of books and educational materials, and assistance to Cultural Centers, libraries, and American-sponsored schools abroad remained in SEA and CU

[3] This was a major reorganization. IEP was one of five functional divisions of OIC. Also, five area divisions were set up for coordination with the field. From 1945 to 1952 the program was under the Assistant Secretary of State for Public Affairs: William Benton, 1945–47; Howland H. Sargeant, Deputy Assistant Secretary, 1947–48; George V. Allen, 1948–49; Edward W. Barrett, 1950–52.

[4] From 1950 to 1952, the Office of the General Manager of the International Information and Educational Exchange Program (IE), established in 1950, directed program operations, under the Assistant Secretary of State for Public Affairs until the establishment of IIA in 1952. In fiscal year 1950 the program of aid to American-sponsored schools abroad was transferred from ILI to IEP.

[5] The five area divisions became four, and for a time five, area offices under a major unit called Field Programs (IFI). The UNESCO Relations Staff, which had been established as a separate staff in the Bureau of Public Affairs in 1947, remained there under the Assistant Secretary for Public Affairs Howland H. Sargeant, 1952–53.

[6] IES was one of five functional services of IIA, the five services essentially representing enlarged versions of the five functional divisions under the previous OIC, OIE, and OEX/OII organizational structures.

[7] From 1953 to 1958 the Assistant Secretaries of State for Public Affairs were: Carl McCardle, 1953–57; Andrew H. Berding, 1957–58. The area divisions under Field Programs (IFI) became a part of USIA.

[8] CU program operations changed from functional to foreign geographic area administration. During this period the program of aid to American-sponsored schools abroad was transferred from CU to the Bureau of Administration in the Department where it is now administered by the Office of Overseas Schools. CU contributes financial support for the program.

[9] During this period the UNESCO National Commission responsibilities were transferred from CU to the Bureau of International Organization Affairs in the Department.

APPENDIX IV

Excerpts From Statement of Program Policies, 1950

"Interim Regulations and Procedures Governing International Exchange of Persons Programs under Public Law 402, 80th Congress (The United States Information and Educational Exchange Act of 1948)," signed for the Secretary of State by John E. Puerifoy, Deputy Under Secretary for Administration, and issued on April 27, 1950. The excerpts below represent the statement of overall program policies as set forth in the document.

"I. PURPOSE AND OBJECTIVES OF THE PROGRAM

"The educational exchange provisions of Public Law 402, 80th Congress, enable the United States Government to engage in exchange of persons programs, on a reciprocal basis, with other countries of the world as an established permanent peacetime policy.

"This law formalizes and authorizes on a worldwide basis an educational exchange program that began in 1939 when two acts were passed by the Congress to carry out certain inter-American treaties and resolutions. When Public Law 402 was passed, therefore, a broad program of cooperative educational interchange between the United States and the other American republics had been underway for nearly ten years.

"The purpose and objectives of this program are 'to enable the Government of the United States to promote a better understanding of the United States in other countries and to increase mutual understanding between the people of the United States and the people of other countries.' Among the means to be used in achieving these objectives is the international interchange of persons, knowledge, and skills.

"International exchange of persons projects constitute an integral and essential technique in attaining the general objectives of this educational exchange program. Persons participating in such projects carry to other countries, and bring back to their own, information, knowledge and attitudes which through personal experience and personal influence promote a better understanding of the United States abroad and increase mutual understanding between the people of the United States and the people of other countries. These programs play a leading and direct, personalized role in contributing to the exchange of technical services, of knowledge and skills, and of information regarding developments in education, the arts, and sciences. They stimulate and lead to broad and comprehensive educational, scientific and cultural projects involving other and various media. Potential American resources for such projects are extensive, and the interest of voluntary organizations, as well as governmental agencies in carrying them out is impressive. Other countries are equally interested and their interest extends to a wide variety of projects. Motivated primarily in terms of their own needs, such countries are willing to cooperate with the United States and to make financial contributions toward the development of these projects.

"II. GENERAL ADMINISTRATIVE POLICIES

"Exchange of persons projects financed by the United States Government are administered by competent Federal or private agencies, under the sponsorship and policy guidance of the Department of State. The Department through the Division of Exchange or Persons in the Office of Educational Exchange, administers directly only those programs for which delegation of responsibility to other agencies is not practicable. Funds for the exchange program are appropriated annually to the Department of State for appropriate allocation and /or transfer to the participating agencies.

"In initiating, planning, and carrying into effect these international exchanges the Division of Exchange of Persons relies upon the advice and experience of other divisions of the Department (particularly the Interdepartmental Committee for Scientific and Cultural Cooperation); other federal agencies; private educational, research and philanthropic institutions and organizations in the United States and abroad, which are interested or engaged in the program; and the missions.

"To carry out this program efficiently and to insure consistency and effectiveness in its administration, the following broad policies have been established. They are based on experience in operating the program between the United States and the other American republics and related programs with other areas of the world.

"A. *Utilization of Private Agencies*

"The Department considers that the role of the Federal Government is primarily facilitative, and that the activities of the Department and the American missions are supplementary to the programs of other agencies, institutions, and organizations, official, semi-official and private, which are interested or engaged in such activities. Federal programs are undertaken only insofar as the objectives of Public Law 402 cannot be attained through the activities of private agencies. The Department utilizes the services of the greatest possible number of private agencies to the maximum extent practicable and seeks advice and assistance from qualified private sources in the development and operation of its exchange of persons programs. Whenever practicable, it delegates certain operating responsibilities to those agencies and organizations which it considers representative and competent.

"B. *Cooperation in Exchange of Persons Projects—Administrative and Financial*

"Exchange projects may be proposed by the Department, the missions abroad, and other agencies, individuals, and organizations, American and foreign. However, regardless of the manner in which a project may originate, it should enjoy the active support of representative organizations in the specific field involved for advice, participation, support, and administration. The degree of cooperation should be clearly understood before a project is recommended by missions abroad and/or approved by the Department. Financial support from cooperating groups is to be expected to an extent consistent with (1) their resources, (2) the value of the project to them, and (3) its specific objective.

"C. *Reciprocity in Exchange of Persons Projects*

"According to Congressional intent, exchange of persons projects between the United States and other nations should provide reciprocal arrangements and opportunities. Countries sending their nationals to America to study or observe should permit Americans to visit their countries for similar purposes.

"D. *Approval of Projects*

"The approval of a project for financial aid should be based upon the following considerations listed in the order of their importance: (a) the value of the proposed project in relation to the program of cultural cooperation as a whole and to the specific projects thereof; (b) the fitness of the individual, group, agency or organization to carry it out; (c) the cooperation of individuals or organizations in the field it represents; and (d) the need for the financial aid of the United States Government.

The following types of projects are *not* to be considered for grants:

1. Those, such as "one-man shows" or concerts by individual artists or popular unspecialized lectures, the support of which by the Department would constitute subsidies to commercial enterprises.
2. Those which in a specific area at a given time would unnecessarily parallel others that are supported by private organizations, such as the learned and philanthropic foundations.
3. Those primarily concerned with the publication of materials of a controversial character which would be detrimental to the best interests of the prorgam.
4. Those which would benefit only the individuals or private organizations involved therein.
5. Any others which do not conform to the policies governing the exchange of persons program under reference.

"E. *Selection of Grantees*

"The Department will exercise such general supervision as may be necessary regarding projects administered by other agencies. The Department retains the ultimate responsibility of approving grants.

"The selection of grantees under projects administered directly by the Department is made wherever possible with the endorsement and cooperation of representative private professional institutions or organizations, which are encouraged to offer advice, endorsements, or nominations as circumstances permit.

"Insofar as may be consonant with the nature of the projects, grantees should represent a wide geographical area of the United States and foreign areas and a wide range of professional fields.

"In addition to professional competence, candidates for grants should in personality, interest and attainments, give promise of general ability to establish and maintain broad and effective contacts in a foreign environment.

"Grantees are not to be considered as representatives of the Department or of the Foreign Service or as employees thereof.

"III. COORDINATION OF EXCHANGE PROGRAMS

"A. *Privately Financed Exchange Programs*

"Since the encouragement of all exchangees, whether or not the United States Government has a financial interest in them, is a fundamental objective of the program authorized by Public Law 402, it is the responsibility of the Department and missions abroad to offer information, advice and assistance concerning such exchanges to properly endorsed individuals and to appropriate organizations and agencies. The Department and missions abroad should be prepared also to facilitate the travel and contacts of persons under such projects, especially when such services are expected or requested by other agencies or organizations with which the Department or missions abroad have planned specific projects, or by other governments and their representatives.

"B. *Other Exchange Programs Authorized by United States Public Laws*

"It is desirable to coordinate, insofar as possible, Public Law 402 programs with other exchange programs authorized by the United States Government in which the Department is interested. Special reference is made to such programs as are authorized by the following acts of Congress:

1. *Cooperation with the Other American Republics Act (Public Law 355, 76th Congress).* For over a decade, under authority of this act, the Department has been conducting with the other American republics an exchange of persons program involving students, trainees, professors, leaders, research scholars, teachers, and the like, utilizing appropriated funds and the services of Federal and private agencies. Public Law 402 supplements and extends to other countries of the world exchange activities similar to those authorized by Public Law 355.
2. *Fulbright Act (Public Law 584, 79th Congress).* In countries where the Fulbright program is in operation, Public Law 402 funds will be used only to supplement Fulbright grants for interchange of professors, research scholars, teachers, and students. However, the leader, trainee and United States Government experts exchange programs, for example, operate independently from Fulbright programs, since projects involving exchanges in these categories are not eligible for Fulbright grants.

   The Department has in preparation a detailed compilation of approved policies and procedures with respect to the Fulbright programs.
3. *Philippine Rehabilitation Act (Public Law 370, 79th Congress, as amended by Public Law 882, 80th Congress).* This act expires June 30, 1950, although its amendment authorizes completion of training beyond that date for Filipinos who have begun training prior to that date. Grants under Public Law 402 will be limited to projects which will not duplicate those authorized under the Philippine Rehabilitation Act.
4. *Economic Cooperation Act (Title I of Public Law 472, 80th Congress).* Public Law 402 programs will be restricted to activities which will not duplicate those under ECA technical assistance program.
5. *Institute of Inter-American Affairs Act (Public Law 369, 80th Congress).* Although the IIAA exchange program operates independently of those authorized by Public Laws 355 and 402, the Department approves all applications for training under the auspices of the Health and Sanitation Division and of the Education Division of the Institute. Before applications can be approved, the Department must be assured by the appropriate American Embassy that (1) clearance has been effected and (2) that the applicant will be employed in the service of his country upon completion of training in the United States.

(A statement to this effect is commonly know as a "future connection" statement.) Missions are requested to see that statements covering these two points are transmitted to the Department at the time the applications are forwarded.

6. *Finnish War Debt Act (Public Law 265, 81st Congress).* This act provides that funds paid by Finland to the United States on its World War I debt shall be used for a reciprocal educational exchange program. Under this program, funds are available to provide for the exchange of American and Finnish citizens in educational and technical fields."

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